

TREACHERY NO CRIME,

OR THE

SYSTEM OF COURTS.

EXEMPLIFIED IN THE

LIFE, CHARACTER, AND LATE DESERTION

OF

GENERAL DUMOURIER,

IN THE VIRTUE OF

IMPLICIT CONFIDENCE

IN

KINGS AND MINISTERS,

AND IN THE

PRESENT CONCERT OF PRINCES,

AGAINST THE

FRENCH REPUBLIC.

*Written by Mr Charles (commonly called Loup) Pigot
author of the Jockey Club.*

Delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR J. RIDGEWAY, YORK STREET,
ST. JAMES'S SQUARE,

MDCXCIII.

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OF

GENERAL DUMOURIER



KINGS AND MINISTERS

47

PRESENT CONSTITUTION

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FRENCH REPUBLIC

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MDCCCXXXIII

L I F E, &c.

FATAL to freedom are the perfidy and corruption of courts. They who have been once infected by that pestilential atmosphere, where all partial and exclusive interests are centered, must be very ill qualified for any trust, in which the hostile cause of liberty, and the rights of man, are at stake. It was the opinion of Mirabeau, who perfectly knew the esprit which animated the whole corps, that the new order of things would be never secure, till France was entirely purged of her aristocracy; and the restless, seditious, discontented spirit it has since

B

evinced,

evinced, fully corroborates his opinion. Such separate interests cannot be reconciled. It is the sweat from the people's brow, that pampers the lazy effeminacy and luxury of courts. When great noblemen, proud in their ancestry and their titles, possessing vast riches, are not satisfied with their full and tranquil enjoyment, but are mean enough to solicit, and to hold places under the crown, of no labour, or advantage to others, with immense salaries annexed to them, paid by the nation : such minions cannot be regarded as friends to the people. They are to all intents and purposes a general nuisance : plunderers from the common stock, aggravating their burthens, taking their money, without rendering any the least service in return. If such places are to be considered as honourable, they should be at least gratuitous ; as long as the poor and laborious contribute to provide for them, they are unjust, infamous, and oppressive. I would as soon trust my purse to a known thief, as my liberty to an arrant courtier. He receives the *public money*,
not

not to perform *public service*, but to *think*, speak, and act, on all occasions, conformably with the direction and orders which issue from the palace *.

Courtiers are hired, bribed by the civil lists of princes, extorted from the *national purse*, to uphold exclusive privileges against *national rights*, to support the useless, scandalous prodigality of sinecures and pensions; draining the substance, the very vitals of a kingdom borne down by nearly three hundred million of debt. The soil on which they fatten, the poor man starves; it engrosses all the manure, and makes the rest of the country barren and deserted; sharpening the sting of indigence, robbing industry and labour of their dear and just reward. Such is their blessed system, which grants *all to those who do nothing*, while it *withholds all from those who do every thing*.

* Persons who entertain the least scepticism on this point, may have their doubts instantly removed, by a reference to the uniform parliamentary conduct of gentlemen falling within the above description.

It is the characteristic of a courtier to behold things with a jaundiced eye. He will extol as an act of wisdom and magnanimity, the most consummate infernal treason, if propitious to his views or his interest ; but he is outrageous against similar guilt, if militating against them ; as if there could be any difference in the crime, except from the magnitude of its operations, the superior villainy of its design, or the extent of its consequences.

Reversing all the rules of justice and humanity, matured in the vile arts of adulation, at the same time arrogant and overbearing, he will turn his back on transcendent merit in the garb of modesty and misfortune ; while with fawning smiles, he will cringe at the heel of the most despicable foily, or hideous despotism, if invested with the *sacred* robes of r-y-l impunity.

The trade of courtiers is flattery. It has passed uniform and systematic in its progress through a succession of ages, and on
princes

princes the least deserving, it has generally been lavished in most copious streams. Mæcenæ, the patron of genius, degraded his high character, as the parasite of Augustus; and the muse of Boileau was prostituted to sooth the pride, and to gratify the splendid vanity and barbarous ambition of Louis XIV. who, during his reign, was the scourge and tormentor of Europe*.

Tyrants, whose crimes reflect obloquy on human nature, whose cruelties are sufficient to tinge the feeling heart with the darkest shade of misanthropy, have been deified during life, and canonized after death; till flattery having lost its object, reason resumes her empire, and the once triumphant master, buried in the dust, his infamy revives; truth conquers in her turn, and honest history paints him in faithful colours. The scepter'd

* This species of flattery is thus pleasantly hit off by La Fontaine.

“ On ne peut trop louer trois sortes de Personnes,

“ Les dieux, sa maitresse, & son roi.

“ *Æsop* le disait; J’y souscris quant à moi,

“ Ce sont maximes toujours bonnes.

mur-

murderer, whom the Christian Church hailed as the faith's defender, and he also was nick-named the Father of his People, who received the prostituted incense of praise, even from persons, who, in that age, were regarded as models of primitive simplicity and virtue, now stripped of his gorgeous and royal robes, long since reduced to the common level of mortality, is surveyed in his true native light, in comparison with whom Claudius and Caligula were gods.

Persons, debauched by the vile habits of a court, can never be sincere in attachment to popular systems of government ; and it is truly unfortunate, when an union of superior talents, of inordinate ambition, with moral baseness, acquires an ascendant over public opinion. It is then that confidence serves only to feed the rapacity of private interest, and the generous cause of humanity is no longer consulted, than it may be convenient or political to do so.

There

There is no crime, however odious, however revolting, that may not be varnished by the subtle definitions of Machiavelian sophistry, or that will not, if necessary, be defended by the brazen unprincipled effrontery of aristocratic insolence ; but it defies all the genius of their art and delusion to controvert facts. The character of truth is immutable. What is in nature wrong, no words can palliate, no plea can alter. The man who betrays his trust, is a **TRAITOR** ; and he who, entrusted with arms to fight *for* his country, would turn them *against* it, is the **BLACKEST** of **TRIATORS**. Yet even the traitor Dumourier, who, in the month of December, 1792, submitted a plan to the Executive Council of France for the conquest of Holland, which was resisted only from a reluctance to form an open rupture with us, or to destroy that insidious neutrality we affected to observe, and who in April, 1793, only four months afterwards, accused the same council of *rashness and precipitancy* in plunging the country in that additional calamity,

calamity, which he himself had previously advised, when the fatal measure was already predetermined in the E—g—sh C—b—n—t that rendered it inevitable ;— the treacherous sanguinary renegade, he, who, on the 16th, 18th, and 22d of March in the same year, the treason then rankling in his breast, inundated the plains of Belgia with the blood of his bravest and most loyal soldiers (whose patriotisim he knew obnoxious to his perfidious view) in a cause of which it was erst his glory to proclaim himself the enthusiastic defender, and who a very few days afterwards, unable to debauch the majority of his army that remained, saved his own miserable carcass by flight ; and, from a victorious leader, under the banners of his country, struggling for its independence and freedom, joined the enemy, and degenerated into the scorned apostate satellite of despotism, whom treachery itself dare not trust ;—even Dumourier, that paragon of traitors, who voluntarily led such numbers of his valiant countrymen to slaughter, under pretence of fighting for the liberty
of

of mankind, which at that very instant it is evident he had resolved to betray, is deified in the imagination of courtiers, while
 X men like Condorcet, animated by the purest flame of patriotism and philosophy, fixed in their principles, faithful to their trust, are branded as thieves and murderers, gratefully distinguished by one of Dumourier's prototypes, the virtuous, consistent B—ke; * as the most humane of murderers.

But whither do these crooked diabolical politics tend? The paths of treachery de-

* The labours of this philosopher, branded as a murderer by Mr. B—ke, have been invariably devoted to the instruction, and to promote the happiness of his fellow-creatures. His life, till the revolution, when he enlisted on the side of freedom, was almost abstractedly employed in philosophical researches. He was in his judicial character a most zealous advocate for preserving the life of the late king, bitter enemy to the slave trade, and in the project of a constitutional code, the article abolishing the punishment of death for all crimes, except treason and murder, originated in this *humane assassin*.

C

tected

X He is said to have procured the assassination of his benefactor the Duke de Rochefort.

ted, lead to certain disgrace. An honourable war, (if offensive war could be honourable) employs only honourable means to defend it, and it is a sad prognostic both of its principles, and of an unfortunate issue, when they employed in its service, stoop to the basest, most unwarrantable practices, to cover the atrocious designs of injustice, rapine, and illegitimate conquest.

The corruption and sudden conversion of this man, makes peace appear more distant than ever. It would be madness to consider the acquisition of a person whom the combined armies can never venture to trust with command, and the remnant of one regiment of cavalry, consisting of a few hundred men, equally impossible to be relied upon, as a matter of importance. What advantage then is to be reaped from this deserter? His abortive perfidy only proves, that republican principles are universally diffused, and deeply rooted in the minds of soldiers as well as citizens, and it is an irrefragable axiom in politics, that every violent

lent effort to subvert an existing system, gives stability by its defeat, to that it was intended to destroy.

When treachery gains its point, the treason is loved, but the traitor detested ; when it fails, he is despised. The scorn and contempt of the combined forces will avenge on him, the cause of his betrayed and injured nation ; and he, who so lately enjoyed the esteem, and commanded the admiration of every virtuous mind, every lover of liberty, is now sunk, like his unhappy predecessor la Fayette, into the deepest mire of infamy and disgrace, with no other consolation, than the very partial and precarious freedom, with which he has been indulged under sufferance from those, on whose protection and encouragement, he vainly depended, but by whom, his object blasted, he must be inwardly scorned and rejected, as a corrupt and mercenary traitor.

Let us however sift into causes, and we may perhaps unravel the mystery which at first created universal surprize, and diffused such enthusiastic applause amongst the aristocratic corps.

Although of Plebian extraction, our hero aspired to Patrician distinctions, and if ambitious of military renown, he was no wise indifferent to civil emoluments. The happy versatility and duplicity of his talents, led him early in life to Versailles, where similar accomplishments never passed unrewarded, so that his genius for intrigue procured him immediate employment in that particular line, which formed a principal department in the antient system of that intriguing and ambitious court. Monsieur Dumourier very soon attracted the notice of the sagacious and discerning Maurepas, who was then minister, and upon his recommendation, he was at once registered on the list of *clair-voyants* (what we call in England spies,) a term applied to political agents,

agents, who are bribed by courts to inspire confidence, and afterwards to betray it. A specious address, a total apathy of principle, unrestrained by the cumbrous shackles of modesty or diffidence, qualified him to shine with refulgent lustre, in this crowded hemisphere of brilliant satellites. He entered upon immediate pay*, and as the military character was always considered a passport to this honourable service, in order to facilitate his introduction at the courts to which he might be sent, he was presented with the brevet of a captain of infantry. In the capacity of a spy, under a military garb, he has been employed at almost every court of Europe; and he generally executed the virtuous office with consummate ability, to the entire satisfaction of his masters. A perfect harlequin. He knew how to assume the most opposite shapes, as occasion required. In Poland, du-

* Under the old government in France, above four millions sterling were annually appropriated to the above honourable service.

ring the arrangement of the partition treaty, a very important and multifarious part was allotted to him, and he performed it with his usual eclat. He appeared at different times in that country, under the different characters of an officer, an abbé, a pilgrim, and a monk, and the disguise sat so naturally on him, that he always escaped detection.

In the year 1777 and 1778, our distinguished spy resided in different courts of Germany, where that his happy talents might not rust from inaction, he kept a jealous watch over the emissaries of his own court, many of whom were disgraced by the reports he transmitted of their remissness and misconduct.

England also is a theatre on which his his active versatile genius has displayed itself. In the year 1780, during the American war, when this country was cursed with a weak, unprincipled, and prodigal administration, and threatened by a combination
of

of foreign powers, which, through her own insolent imperious councils, conspired against her; her finances dilapidated, her antient glory tarnished, her commerce almost annihilated, labouring under a complication of misfortunes; agreeably with the old politics of the court of Versailles, French intrigue was all alive, and French gold was profusely circulated in this capital. Monsieur Dumourier was then in London under the disguise of an abbé, an unfortunate persecuted clergyman, banished from his native land, for having published a book, intitled ‘*La Folie de la France D’Assister des Rebelles.*’ Here likewise he escaped detection, and what his object then was, is still unknown. We find him afterwards in the years 1785 and 1786, in Holland, fanning the flame of patriotism; ardent in zeal to serve the cause in which he was employed, and being at Amsterdam in the year 1787, he had a very narrow escape, his friend the Duke of Brunswick, having given orders for his arrest, but a *clair-voyant* is always on
his

his guard, and thus, he was fortunate enough to elude the order.

When peace was restored to Holland, as a reward for past services, Monsieur de Vergennes appointed him major de place at Cherbourg, which was the highest military rank that he attained under the former government. In this situation, the powers of his mind had little scope for action, and he there languished for fresh opportunities favourable to his genius for intrigue, or hopeful to his views of ambition. The crisis at length arrived.

Destitute of every honourable principle, the only sentiment which ever actuated him, was that of interest, whether as the satellite of a despot, a dangler in the antichamber of a duke, the furious demagogue of a club, the minister of a limited monarchy, or the commander of a republican army, all his labours and ambition tended to one uniform point ;—to aggrandize himself;
in-

indifferent as to the means, provided he saw a probability of accomplishing it. Thus, when the first revolution took place, the complaisant obsequious spy of a court, was at once metamorphosed into a raving jacobin, and seconded by that society (now the grateful object of his execration) he intrigued himself into employment, and in the month of March 1792, he succeeded the late Monsieur De Lessart, as minister for foreign affairs. During the short time he remained in office, the strongest suspicions of peculation were entertained; our *clair-voyant* perceived there was a storm brewing, and with all the art and prudence peculiar to his former profession, after being supposed to have well *feathered his nest*, he gave in his dismissal, and having been since the revolution, through the jacobin influence, advanced to the rank of marechal de camp, suddenly decamped for the northern army. He was well acquainted with the unpopularity of la Fayette, and by his enmity, opposition, and impatience to supersede that degraded and unhappy

D

general,

general, he flattered popular opinion, while in so doing, he favoured his own rapacity and ambition, by paving the way to the command of that army, which, like his predecessor, in a still more ungrateful and barbarous manner, he afterwards betrayed. The activity, talents, and patriotic zeal, which he at first displayed, obliterated past transgressions, and all memory of his former servile occupations, incompatible with the dignity and virtue, supposed inherent in the mind of a republican commander in chief, was effaced by the vows of inveterate hatred against traitors and tyrants, and by his boasted promise of future achievements. But was it to be supposed that he who had long submitted to the degradation, and had distinguished himself in the contemptible odious office of a spy, whose trade was treachery, and who had been early infected by the tainted air of the most vicious court in Europe, could ever be loyal to the glorious cause of freedom and equality ? From rooted habits, his heart
could

could never glow with congenial ardour, while fighting for principles that were fatal to the splendour of palaces, where his notions had been formed, but whose success might establish a far better system, establishing the liberty, peace, and happiness of the world.

That Dumourier, an old hoary sycophant, grise in the menial service of a vicious arbitrary court, would be staunch to any cause, as long as he felt an interest in it, there could be no doubt, and that he would abandon it, when that interest ceased, or on any reverse of fortune, must on reflection be equally obvious, notwithstanding the wonder that his desertion at first created. In a breast destitute of all honour and virtue, self is always the predominant principle. As an *Espion de Police*, impelled by the above sentiment, Dumourier would act with the same mechanical address, according to professional rule, as acting officially as minister of a great nation; and

he would lead his soldiers to slaughter with equal indifference and insensibility, as commander of an army fighting for despotism, or as a leader of squadrons struggling for freedom. Men of this description, consider every thing as a trade. Principle is wholly out of the question, therefore, when Mr. Dumourier's memorials are read, with reference to his original habits, all wonder must cease, that he should one day glory in the principles of republicanism, and that on the next, after having sacrificed thousands and thousands of the bravest lives, he should devote himself, and the rest of his followers, to the re-establishment of monarchical government. In the proclamations, which he has lately published, with a view to justify his treason, he deals like those who corrupted him, in bold unqualified assertions, without a shadow of argument or reason to support them. When he speaks of the glorious victories he had achieved for his country, he forgets the baseness with which he afterwards sold it ;
when

when he now swears to restore *royalty*, he forgets his former oaths, to defend to the last the *sovereignty of the people*.—‘ I have sent a reinforcement to Bournoville, who has more than twenty thousand men; and who will never quit them (the Prussians) till he has exterminated them. To give the finishing blow to “ this business, I shall join him in person. I have sent you some copies of my negotiation, which I have caused to be printed, because the commander of an army of freemen ought to suffer no suspicions to exist respecting his conduct, with the enemy.’ (traitor!) ‘ The present circumstance will soon deliver us from the scourge of war, and you may assure the *August Assembly of the SOVEREIGN PEOPLE*, that I swear never to know repose, until it shall be put out of the power of tyrants to do us any hurt*.”

To

* Vide Monsieur Dumourier’s letter to the war minister, on the retreat of the Prussians from France, dated

St.

To paint treason in its most odious colours, it will be necessary to refer to other memorials and proclamations of the traitor, and thence, the dullest comprehension will not be at a loss to unravel the motives of his late desertion.—‘ Monster, Out of thy own mouth will I convict thee.’

‘ The French nation has decided its fate,
 ‘ and foreign powers cannot refuse to acknowledge the truth of this assertion.
 ‘ They no longer see the National Assembly, whose powers were confined, who
 ‘ possessed only a contested authority, which
 ‘ might have been considered as usurped ;
 ‘ but they now behold a representation invested with the complete sovereignty of
 ‘ the French people, authorized by the Constitution itself, under the name of the
 ‘ National Convention.

St. Menchault, October 1st, 1792. It is strongly suspected, that he could have then cut off the retreat of the Prussians, and that it is owing to subsequent negotiation, that they were suffered to effect it.

‘ This

‘ This Convention, on the very first day
 ‘ of its sitting, actuated by spontaneous
 ‘ movement, which is the same through
 ‘ the whole empire, decreed the abolition
 ‘ of royalty. This decree was received
 ‘ with impatience and rapture ; it every
 ‘ where augments the energy of the people,
 ‘ and it would be impossible to re-establish
 ‘ a throne, overturned by the crimes which
 ‘ surrounded it. *France then must be ever*
 ‘ *acknowledged a republic*, since the whole
 ‘ nation has declared the abolition of mo-
 ‘ narchy. No power has a right to im-
 ‘ pose laws on so great a nation. The ex-
 ‘ perience already offered, must convince
 ‘ the King of Prussia, *that the conquest of*
 ‘ *France is absolutely impossible*. What-
 ‘ ever difference of principles may exist be-
 ‘ tween his Prussian Majesty, who has been
 ‘ misled, and the French people, neither he
 ‘ nor his generals, can any longer consider
 ‘ that people, or the armies which oppose
 ‘ him, as rebels. The rebels are those in-
 ‘ fatuated nobility, who, after having so
 ‘ long

' long oppressed the people in the name of
 ' monarchs, have compleated the disgrace
 ' of Louis XVI. by *taking up arms against*
 ' *their own country*, by *filling* Europe
 ' with their crimes and their calumnies; yet
 ' these men are suffered to remain in the
 ' Prussian army, and to form the advanced
 ' guard of it, with a *small number of Au-*
 ' *strians as barbarous as themselves.*

' Let us now consider these Austrians.
 ' Since the fatal treaty of 1756, France,
 ' after sacrificing her allies, became a prey
 ' to the ambition of the court of Vienna.
 ' All our treasures served to satiate her
 ' avarice. At the beginning of our re-
 ' volution, the intrigues of that court
 ' were multiplied to deceive the French
 ' nation, to mislead an unfortunate king,
 ' and lastly, to render him *perjured*.

' It is the court of Vienna that has oc-
 ' casioned the downfall of Louis XVI. It
 ' represented the French as monsters, while
 that

‘ that court, and the criminal emigrants,
 ‘ now seconded by other powers, paid *spies*
 ‘ and conspirators, and kept up by every
 ‘ possible means the most frightful dis-
 ‘ cord.

‘ The French have abolished royalty, be-
 ‘ cause, since Henry IV. they have always
 ‘ had weak, proud, or timid princes, go-
 ‘ verned by mistresses, confessors, insolent
 ‘ or ignorant ministers, base and abject
 ‘ courtiers, who have afflicted with every
 ‘ calamity, the most beautiful empire in the
 ‘ universe.

‘ The King of Prussia will one day blush,
 ‘ when he sees his army and his treasure
 ‘ sacrificed to a system of perfidy and ambi-
 ‘ tion, in which he has no share, and to
 ‘ which he is rendered the dupe. He would
 ‘ find his interest in now treating with
 ‘ France, for if ever there was an epocha,
 ‘ when a nation could be depended on,
 ‘ it is that when the *general will* forms

E

‘ the

‘ the invariable principles of a govern-
 ‘ ment *.

‘ His majesty has still the noblest part to
 ‘ act that ever king performed. *His* opera-
 ‘ tions alone have been attended with suc-
 ‘ cess. He took two towns, but this success
 ‘ was owing to *treachery* and cowardice.
 ‘ The French army is now purged of TRAI-
 ‘ TORS and cowards, who might have ex-

• The *general will* is still the same ; in all countries
 there are traitors whom interest and gold will corrupt,
 but they are not to be weighed in the ballance with the
 rights and sentiments of a whole people. Monsieur
 Dumourier kindly informs us, in his late address to the
 French people, dated St. Amand, April 2, 1793, ‘ that
 ‘ arms are every where taken up ; murders every where
 ‘ committed, and pecuniary supplies are every where
 ‘ intercepted ; that the *English* foment these murders,
 ‘ and will by their succours, supply fuel to them at plea-
 ‘ sure.’

Nevertheless, it is not all the corruption, perfidy, or
 sanguinary policy employed by foreign powers, nor all
 the B--t-sh guineas, that Mr. Dumourier insinuates, the
 B--t-sh G—v-m-n-t will advance for the purpose, that
 can affect the *general will* of the French nation,
 which has been fully expressed by its representatives
 fairly elected by the people at large. In the Prince de
 Cobourg’s system of philosophy, treachery may be
 virtue ; in morals, it is the ultimatum of infamy.

‘ cited

‘ cited an idea, that France could be easily
 ‘ conquered, but she will prove herself in-
 ‘ vincible. We have to avenge the ex-
 ‘ cesses committed in our fields, and it may
 ‘ readily be believed, that a war against
 ‘ **REPUBLICANS, PROUD OF THEIR**
 ‘ **LIBERTY**, must be a bloody war, which
 ‘ can never end, but with the entire de-
 ‘ struction of the oppressors, or the op-
 ‘ pressed*.’

The rest of this memorial, favours strongly of the old leaven, consisting in the grossest, most disgusting flattery of the King of Prussia, and as such it received strong marks of reprobation, when read in the National Convention; but let us pursue this loyal republican in the further progress of his military diplomatic correspondence.

‘ Judge yourself sir, with impartiality,
 ‘ forget for a moment that you are a Prus-
 ‘ sian; what would you think of a nation,

* Dumourier’s memorial to the King of Prussia, on the 9th of September, 1792.

' that without being vanquished, should
 ' humble itself before a manifesto, and
 ' should treat under conditions of slavery,
 ' when it had declared itself REPUBLI-
 ' CAN*.

' LIBERTY IS EVERY WHERE
 ' TRIUMPHANT, it will overspread the
 ' universe, after having crushed despotism,
 ' and enlightened the people. This war
 ' will be the last, and TYRANTS and
 ' PRIVILEGED ORDERS will be the
 ' sole victims in this struggle of ARBI-
 ' TRARY POWER against REASON.
 ' The arms which the confidence of the
 ' nation entrusted to my care, have deserv-
 ' ed well of their country. Songs of joy
 ' would have made one mistake our formi-
 ' dable camp for one of those camps of
 ' pleasure, where the luxury of kings for-
 ' merly collected embodied automata, for
 ' the amusement of their mistresses and
 ' children.

* Dumourier's answer to Monsieur Manstein, Aid
 de Camp General to the King of Prussia, September
 29th, 1792. First Year of the Republic.

' I am

‘ I am come to pass four days amongst
‘ you; I shall not take any NEW OATH;
‘ I shall shew myself worthy of command-
‘ ing the children of Liberty *.’

Without referring to his dispatches from Mons, concerning the battle of Jemmappe, and many subsequent papers, signed with his name, and published by his authority, the testimonials already quoted, throw all former examples of perfidy, baseness, and apostacy, as far as the consequences might have extended into the back ground.

Till the Order of Jesuits was destroyed, the court of France always selected her most able spies from that body; and as a further proof of Monsieur Dumourier’s excellence as a disciple of St. Ignatius, in addition to the extracts already made, let us take some notice of the doctrines he has published since his late *reconversion*.

‘ My dear countrymen, it is expedient that
‘ a TRUE AND BRAVE MAN, remove

* General Dumourier’s Speech to the National Convention, October, 1792.

‘ from

' from you the veil which covers all our crimes
 ' and misfortunes. In 1789, we made
 ' great efforts to obtain liberty, equality,
 ' and the sovereignty of the people. Our
 ' principles were consecrated in the decla-
 ' ration of the Rights of Man; and from
 ' the labours of our legislators, have re-
 ' sulted the declaration, which says, that
 ' France shall be a MONARCHY; se-
 ' condly, a Constitution, to which we swore
 ' fealty in 1789-90 and 1791.'

It must appear strange to our readers, if
 he were not aware of the true cause of this
 apostacy, that the general did not remember
 this former oath, when from the shortness of
 time, it must have been more recent in his
 memory, and if ever there were periods when
 that oath might be supposed to have ope-
 rated with effect, it was immediately after
 the 10th of August, after the massacres of
 the 2d and 3d of September, or directly
 after the execution of Louis XVI. But
 no, his breast then seemed flushed with
 an additional glow of republican enthu-
 siasm;

fiasm; it was then he renewed his oath of fidelity to the new government, and it was long after the dreadful scenes of the 2d and 3d of September, as will be perceived from the extracts which we have made from his own printed papers, that he continued to glory in his REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES, that he acknowledged the *general will* of the people as sacred and inviolable, and swore never to abandon the righteous cause, till he had forced the enemy to submit to its justice; that it was a war of ARBITRARY POWER AGAINST REASON AND PHILOSOPHY. It was not by the death of Louis that his sensibility appeared affected, or that he declared the cause to be dishonoured; no, subsequent to that period, he attempted the conquest of Holland; nor was it till frustrated in his views on that country, as a relief from insanity, which the disappointment of his ambition seemed to threaten, after having (as has been before remarked) sacrificed the flower of his army, that he attempted in vain to debauch that part which remained, and that he sold his country

try and his fame, to gratify a cursed avarice, and to screen himself from the just vengeance of the people he had betrayed.

Such is our new ally, the gallant faithful General Dumourier ; who, by affected enthusiasm, for the common cause in which his country was embarked, by his avowed enmity against traitors, tyrants, and privileged orders, still further recommended by his great military talents, fascinated confidence, and afterwards betrayed it ; yet even this traitor, this convicted traitor, as here he stands, finds his advocates in the rotten phalanx of aristocracy, and the liberties and very existence of a regenerated nation, which the open force of all the courts in Europe united in vain to conquer, was for a moment endangered by the success with which they practised their secret arts and corruption, on the breast of an avaricious, mercenary, deserter. Unhappy France, surely thy excesses are in some degree palliated by the eternal and matchless perfidy thou hast experienced from thy
own

own ungrateful children, aiming a poniard at their mother's heart. *Candour* will grant some indulgence to the paroxysms of a people thus annoyed on all sides, mines of treason springing up in every quarter ; every day bringing to light fresh instances of most horrible conspiracies, ignorant whom to trust, from having been so often betrayed ; the enemy not satisfied with attacking them *without*, but circulating in profusion their poisonous gold, to foment murder and civil war *within* : sold by their generals in whom they had reposed unlimited confidence and powers, on the faith of most sacred vows, with a brutish insolence, ingratitude, and cruelty, which defy all the powers of language, or invention to describe.

A *philosopher* will judge for himself, he is not to be led astray by superficial appearances, by the artifices of a designing interested faction, or by the clamorous uproar of a misguided multitude. He will penetrate into primary causes, before he presumes to

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pronounce on effects, nor will he suffer the phrenzy of passion, or the torrent of infatuation in others, to stifle the sentiments of truth in his unclouded mind.

Amidst all their outrages, he will perceive injured men, for the most part incensed to retaliation ; he will regard them as thus moulded, thus goaded to ferocity, by the revolting barbarism of their antient oppressors ; he will not have forgot the unprovoked bloody manifestos of those ruffian invaders, striking at their regenerated freedom and independence, stimulating and provoking their revenge ; he will feel for a people driven to madness from a dread of relapsing into their former despotism. It would not therefore appear a phenomenon to him, that they who had so long been treated as beasts, should occasionally act like savages, or, that men should become desperados who had been driven to despair.

Treachery breeds revenge ; injury may forgive a TYRANT, but it never pardons a TRAITOR. Hence the royal,
the

the civil blood that has flowed. Let indignation then be directed to the proper channel; let it be pointed against the vile authors, not against the miserable exasperated instruments of those heart rending scenes; against the perfidious monsters, who, after having raised the dæmon of destruction, make him serve as a pretext to deceive and enrage the world against the horrors they themselves excited.

Massacre, alas, is the inevitable attendant on all great revolutions in states; and for this reason, many respectable men are averse to all innovating experiments; but should we shrink from truth, from justice, from virtue, and a fair prospect of future happiness, through a dread of temporary convulsions, however violent, and which originate in those privileged beings, who have not magnanimity to submit to a more equal dispensation of sublunary enjoyments? Is it possible, that a rational liberal mind, however sensible to the necessary painful alternative, should regard these horrors of a day in the same mirror as he reflects on

that ci-devant despotism, which produced evils equally atrocious in the hour of their commission, and inexpressibly more calamitous from the length of their duration? To form a just judgment, we must contrast a moment of horror with ages of felicity.

It has been hitherto the fatal policy of government in all ages to cherish the salutary insensibility, the tranquillizing spirit, which submits to grovel in utter darkness. Have we slaves, the plan is to subdue their minds, and rivet them in their native ignorance. Have we subjects, it is by their impotence, and by oppression, that we labour to enforce obedience. Plenty would only create insolence and mutiny amongst them *. If, however, this were the true philosophy of social institutions, what a frightful abortion would such a system appear. How degrading, how libellous to the human character, the supposition

* The uniform language of tyrants,

‘ The resty knaves are over-run with ease,

‘ As plenty ever is the nurse of faction.’

Rew's Jane Shore.

that

that every thing tending to the instruction of man makes him vicious and profligate. But the fallacy of this doctrine is detected on a moment's consideration. Truth, justice, and equality *, can never be a source of injury to mankind. It is natural that the first developement and illumination of the mind should be attended with disorder ; but order and happiness are likely

* No word was ever more barbarously abused or perverted from its real signification, for the basest of purposes, than this word has lately been. From the *unequal* manner in which nature has dealt out her dispensations, *equality* is physically impossible in our human career, although it is certain we are all born *equal* as to our rights ; that is, a man born to no inheritance of riches, has an equal right to eligibility to serve his country in any capacity for which his talents or virtues may qualify him, as an Earl of D-l-ng t-n, born to millions, without any talents or virtues whatever ; and it is an irresistible proof of bad government (it wrought the revolution in France), that enormous inequality which prevails in them ; and however passive, from habitual influence, the human mind may seem under oppression, it is shocked, on sober reflection, amidst the want and misery every where visible, when it discovers, that the king, even of a limited monarchy, receives, as the wages of his office, an income equivalent to the labour of fifty thousand men, calculating it on an average of one shilling a day to each man.

to succeed it. If men have hitherto strayed far and wide from their true interest and happiness, there can be no reason why they should continue to wander in the same wretched obscurity for ever ; that they should carry the system of error to eternity. It is time that the madness should cease, which delegates to an individual the power of injuring or destroying a nation.

If our own domestic affairs did not yield ample experience, let us only for an instant reflect on the example lately afforded by France, trusting all she held most dear, a balance, perhaps, in which the fate of worlds hung suspended, to the direction of one apostate venal traitor—him whose portrait has been given. Nevertheless, we are now spite of example at the climax of infatuation, and regardless of personal danger, it is at such a period a virtuous duty, recommended by Solon, to publish truth without diffidence or reserve. The true philanthropist will not be checked in his course, he will be active in the scene, and by his exertions strive to render the operations

rations of thought at once profound and beneficial. He will be the herald of peace and good will amongst his fellow creatures. ‘ The
 ‘ tidings of liberty and equality, duly con-
 ‘ sidered, are tidings of joy to *all* condi-
 ‘ tions of life ; they free the peasant from
 ‘ the iniquity which depresses him, and
 ‘ the privileged from the luxury and despo-
 ‘ tism by which he is corrupted. Let those
 ‘ who hear these tidings not stain their
 ‘ benignity by shewing that that benignity
 ‘ has not yet become the inmate of their
 ‘ hearts *.’

Truth can never be hurtful to the many, however formidable it may appear to those whose vanity and imagined interests it may attack ; and were not those privileged gentlemen conscious of its virtue—that the more profound its investigation, the more fatal it would prove to them—they would not, with such passion and fury, oppose its progress. Were such my opinions, why

* Godwin concerning Political Justice, vol. ii.
 p. 88o.

should

should I hesitate to declare myself a republican ? There can exist no better cause, why being a republican under a monarchy, I should enlist with a desperate faction to disturb the public tranquillity ; than if I were monarchical under a republic *. The business of an *honest man* is to promulgate truth ; to wait patiently the victory of conviction, and the government which cannot bear to hear it, is not the government under which an *honest man* would chuse to live. Unfortunately, a contrary system prevails, on the principles of integrity we profess, let us proceed to examine it.

Instead of establishing a legitimate empire over the human mind, on the solid basis of reason and political justice ; governments have hitherto enthralled it by the miserable devices of craft and imposition, uniformly rejecting all experiments of instruction and felicity, employing only such engines, as they found most conducive

* Godwin concerning Political Justice, vol. ii. p. 88o.

to their own purposes ; in holding it under its native ignorance, and practising every unwarrantable artifice, to inure it to the most disgraceful servitude, it would appear from an appeal to their practice, as if it was their policy to hold truth in mortal enmity, and to consider those who would enforce it, as their mortal foes ; but ideas cannot suggest stronger arguments of suspicion against their system, than what they themselves afford by the jealousy of investigation, and the implacable rancour, with which they pursue all those, who are bold enough to deny their power, and to enter on candid discussion, the only road to truth. How far this jealousy is founded in a consciousness of their own imbecillity and injustice ; on a perfect conviction that they cannot bear the light of reason and philosophy, we will proceed to examine.

Nations, like armies, have ever been the wretched dupes of catchwords, thrown out by their leaders, for the purpose of the day ; church and state, liberty and property, glory

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of

of our arms, immortal constitution, trade, and navigation, have all in their turns done their business here, without having had any meaning, or at least any understood by those, who most loudly vociferated them*. It must be considered a very bad omen of a cause, when it flies to such stale pitiful resources for support. All the above hacknied phrases, *cum multis aliis*, still maintain their influence amongst us, but of the different terms at present in vogue, Confidence, is that which rules with most absolute sway, and which ensures the most complete success. IMPLICIT CONFIDENCE is the parole now in use, by which a HEAVENBORN MINISTER calls forth his vassals to rally round his standard of delusion. Under the sanction of this magic auxiliary, all enquiry is crushed; the spirit of reform is construed into treason, or perhaps mildly qualified under the appellation, held almost equally criminal, of republicanism, and whoever is imprudent or daring enough to oppose the torrent,

* Works of Soame Jenyus, vol. ii. p. 230.

even by the gentlest insinuations of reason or argument, raises a mountain on his back that threatens to crush him. He is scouted at once as a leveller and republican (words, the true signification of which is Hebrew to the generality of his appellants) and *damned* as a disloyal and dangerous subject.

If a man does not sympathise in the glorious news, if he be only luke-warm in expressions of applause, when Dumourier's *gallant* treachery is recorded; if he does not actually exult when he hears it joyfully and triumphantly proclaimed, that ten or twenty thousand Frenchmen, whose cruelties are the inexhaustible theme of Britons indignation, have been cut to pieces by the valiant Austrians*; if his heart be a stranger

* As the delicate nerves of English aristocracy are not proof against French cruelty, they may probably be tortured in perusing the following genuine account of Austrian and Emigrant barbarity:

* The Austrians continued to pour into Liege. a

stranger to such divine enthusiasm, and that his tongue disdains to belie his heart, he is marked

‘ prodigious quantity of shells and red-hot balls for many
 ‘ hours after it was evacuated by the French, whereby
 ‘ a number of citizens were killed, and many houses
 ‘ destroyed; after which, a part of the troops entered
 ‘ the city, and the most horrid spectacle presented itself,
 ‘ that ever eyes beheld. Men, women, and children,
 ‘ every human creature that they met was indiscrimi-
 ‘ nately, butchered. The houses were broke open, and
 ‘ the shops plundered. The women were first violated
 ‘ and afterwards murdered. Two streets in particular,
 ‘ la rue de St. Nicolas & rue St. Anne, experienced all
 ‘ the fury of the soldiers, nor did the Officers shew
 ‘ more moderation or humanity than the common men.
 ‘ La rue St. Nicolas is a waste of ruins, and its inhabi-
 ‘ tants are destroyed. Some of those belonging to the
 ‘ rue St. Anne, escaped with their lives; but the number
 ‘ of men, women, and children killed, after the enemy
 ‘ had left the city, is estimated at six or seven thousand.’

The above fact is here literally related as it was communicated to the author by an English officer of untainted veracity, who was at Liege, when the horrors were perpetrated.

So much for our new Allies!

The subsequent account is a literal translation from the address delivered at the bar of the National Convention, on the 29th of September, 1792, by Citizen Robert,

marked as a suspicious character, and his
CONFIDENCE impeached ; but if he
 should

Robert, Mayor of Vancq, attended by Benier, Rector of that Community.

‘ Representatives of the French People ; I address
 ‘ you in the name of seven or eight hundred citizens, to
 ‘ whom nothing remains but the ashes of their habitations and their fidelity to the Republic, and who for
 ‘ their attachment to the Laws of their country, have
 ‘ experienced the vengeance of the enemies of liberty.

‘ On Monday the 24th of this month, (September)
 ‘ the municipality of Vancq, in the district of Voufières,
 ‘ and department of Ardennes, received an order in
 ‘ the name of the ci-devant Marechal de Broglio, commanding a body of emigrants, whose head quarters
 ‘ were then at Voufières, to supply his army with provisions, which being refused by the municipality, fire
 ‘ was set to the village, and in a moment the blaze consumed our whole crop, both of wheat and barley, with
 ‘ our barns, stables, horses, and nearly two hundred
 ‘ houses, with the church, were also destroyed. Their
 ‘ rage was not yet satisfied. They massacred without
 ‘ distinction, old men, women, and children : they
 ‘ prevented a mother from entering her dwelling, to
 ‘ save her three infants, who perished in the flames.

‘ They offered a pardon to any person who would
 ‘ deliver up myself and the rector ; but by a road unknown to them, we found means to escape. The
 ‘ emigrants]

should be still more imprudent and daring ; if he should presume to doubt the policy, justice, or humanity of the war in which his country is now engaged, to call in question its expediency or necessity, or to express a belief, on the ground of evidence or facts, that it really was the desire, as most certainly it was the interest of France to preserve peace with us ; then he has reached the ultimatum of political heresy, and stands a fair chance of being denounced to Mr. R—ves, and by him, to *his* attorney g-n-r-l, as a traitor and a rebel. Alas ! the generality of mankind are governed more by antient abuses, or local prejudices

‘ emigrants fatiated with carnage, and covered with the
 ‘ blood of their countrymen, at length retired ; but they
 ‘ tied to the tails of their horses, several of the inhabi-
 ‘ tants, whom they dragged away as a trophy of their
 ‘ inhuman triumph. We request an aid of fifty thou-
 ‘ sand livres to relieve the present wants of our commu-
 ‘ nity, as the loss we have sustained, is estimated at
 ‘ more than five hundred thousand livres.’

On a motion from *Le Croix*, the sum was decreed. On the score of cruelty, it would far better become us to be silent.

judices, than by reason or conviction ; far more in the habit of talking than of thinking, and in this corrupted channel, opinion flows at present with greater violence than at any former period.

In all societies, it is the ignorant or prejudiced, that form the great majority, and when their rulers are wicked, it is society that suffers. Folly and vice triumph only for a moment, they are quickly detected, but they unfortunately leave a durable impression behind them. Credulity is the sure victim of interest and ambition. The torrent however rages too fierce to last, when it ceases, Englishmen will have only to bewail its fatal effects, and curse the authors of this delusion.

Our national character has undergone an entire revolution, still more degenerate in politics than in morals ; vice in one system naturally infects the other. The sage caution, the watchful jealousy of our ancestors, respecting the least encroachments on popular

pular rights, are now converted into IMPLICIT CONFIDENCE in the wisdom and virtue of ministers of state, who in grateful requital, avail themselves of it, as an engine to increase the prerogative of the crown, by which they think to strengthen their own authority.

Louis XIV. was held an arbitrary monarch. The noble qualities that adorn the character of George III. may possibly be a guarantee to his subjects, against any immediate exercise of despotism; yet were it not for that guarantee, strengthened by our CONFIDENCE in his wisdom and virtue, to prevent any abuse of them by his ministers, can it be said that the enormous additional powers unknown to our constitution, lately granted to the crown, although a few years ago, declared by a solemn vote of Parliament, to have increased and that they ought to be diminished, bear the least analogy with the original spirit of a government, whose peculiar excellence

we

we are for ever told is LIBERTY *.——
That they do not render the prerogative of
a king of England as formidable, as that
enjoyed by the former tyrant, and which, in
the hands of a prince less distinguished for
moderation and indifference to power, than
George III. might expose his subjects to
the most odious and abominable tyranny.

In virtue of this CONFIDENCE, mi-
nisters will not now hear of any attempt to
innovate on the part of their opponents;
it seems rather their own object, as in the
course of this work we shall prove, to de-
stroy; yet in proportion as they mutilate
and deface the beautiful system of their
affected idolatry, in contempt of what is
called the *fundamental* laws of the land,
they are implacable in prosecution of those

* Persons of a sceptical turn of mind may probably
waver from this opinion, when they consider the nature
of some recent proclamations, and especially when they
analyze the possible consequences of two modern acts
of Parliament, distinguished under the title of 'Alien
Bill and Bill to prevent Traiterous Correspondence.'

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who

who avow the desire, or enforce the necessity of repairing the mouldering edifice, and of defending it against their parricidal strokes, by a strange fatality, **IMPLICIT CONFIDENCE** seems to increase with public calamity, ministerial corruption, and commercial misfortunes,

Time was, when a candidate for *popular* suffrage, grounded his pretension on *popular* services; on a rooted attachment to the generous cause of liberty; but amidst the delirium that now rages, he finds his surest passport to public favour, in declarations of unlimited confidence in the servants of the crown, as the genuine organs of the nation's interest, of the nation's happiness*.

To

* When the illusion is over, it will be recollected with wonder, that in the year 1793, at an election for deputy to serve in Parliament for the city of London, the successful candidate in every hand-bill circulated in his behalf, built all hope of success on the virtue of having uniformly supported for thirty years together, all the different ministers of the crown. If it be so; if there be a man, so vile a tool to interest or prejudice, as to have

Alderman Anderson

To allay this fever, and to destroy the dominion of political superstition, which this fatal confidence is intended to perpetuate, is the author's grand object.

He would enlighten his fellow citizens into a rational and dignified sense of their own felicity and importance; so far from being a leveller, he would belie Mr. B-ke's indecent barbarous description, and exalt them far above the brutish nature of swine. He would prove to their conviction the arrogant claims of artificial distinctions, the vanity of titled grandeur; he would enforce the glaring presumption and selfish nature of those who labour to support them. He depreciates the crusades and madness of war, and would expose in faithful colours the jesuitical tricks, the impudent falsehoods and far-fetched alarms, that have been eternally employed to cajole them into it.

have waded through all that quagmire of depravity and corruption, it is fair to use a French expression and pronounce him

Un tres mauvais sujet.

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He would fain infuse into the marble hearts of those haughty grandees, who revel in their marble palaces, who sleep in their beds of down, a drop of pity for poor outcasts of the same species with themselves, dragging a cruel existence in the claycold huts of penury and despair. Sensible of the exorbitant price annexed to all the necessary articles of life, the natural inevitable result of our battles, our courts, our fine military establishments, &c. &c. &c. precluding poverty from the smallest share in its comforts, he dreads a calamity that must sink them still deeper in the gulph. He would awaken his countrymen from their infatuated dream, and strike the genius of truth and humanity into their souls, knowing the merciless policy of a weak unprincipled administration to seize every advantage, to persevere in any error however sanguinary or fatal on a general scale, if they deem it likely to enlarge their own influence, to distract the public mind, or draw off its attention from those necessary objects of national reform, on which ere long, it seemed

ed stedfastly fixed, and which, if liberally and unequivocally accomplished, they were aware might put an end to that omnipotence they had so long enjoyed, and so outrageously abused, by deducting from their vile monopoly (a scandal and abomination to themselves, as widening the sphere of adversity), and restoring to the popular balance, some of these just constitutional privileges, which many of themselves once acknowledged, to have been most perfidiously ravished from it.

In times like these, when the human faculties have been rouzed from their long lethargy by the efforts of patriotism and philosophy, it is the peculiar duty of us all, as we have already observed, in proportion to the means we possess, to disseminate the principles of reason and justice. The cause of justice is the cause of humanity. It calls for all our affection and zeal, as it embraces the happiness of us all. In this attempt, it becomes us not to be discouraged by the opposition and difficulties that we shall experience from mistaken

taken men. It is their imaginary interest which prompts them to blacken a cause that is all justice and benignity, and their exertions have hitherto impeded its success. The increasing advocates of equality should therefore rise in their efforts to overcome this obstacle. Superior to danger, let us sharpen our intellectual sword, and add to the general stock of knowledge. When the causes existing in evil governments, which have so long retarded its progress, and obstructed the path to that happiness and dignity, of which our nature is susceptible, are removed, mankind will shudder at the injustice to which they have so long submitted. They will discover the fallacy of artificial distinctions, and destroy the cruelty of that fatal monstrous depravity, under which one class of the community has often languished in vain for the putrified offals rejected from the tables of another; while the great themselves have, at the same time, wallowed in every superfluous luxury, which, so far from adding either to their virtue or felicity, served only

to

to harden and corrupt their hearts. Let us then steer our course by the rudder of truth. Under her direction the journey may be long, and thorns may be planted in the way, but with perseverance we shall be sure at length to reach the happy haven of our hopes.

Much certainly of future tranquillity or disorder amongst mankind depends on the conduct of those privileged orders, which now appear so inveterate and malignant against any attempt of philosophical reform. They realize the observation, that no principle in nature is so powerful as that *esprit de corps*, that ardour to aggrandize themselves, which would engross and confine the operations of philanthropy within one narrow miserable circle, and which tends to distinguish and divide objects, which universal laws have indissolubly united.

‘ Thus it appears, that of all impulses
 ‘ to a miserable self-interested conduct,
 ‘ those afforded by monarchy and aristocracy
 ‘ are

‘ are the greatest * ;’ but it is labour in vain to contend with truth. It is like striving with a mortal hand to arrest the progress of the sea. The wisest policy would be concession. It was the opinion of Fennel, who was himself the preceptor of princes, that princes were the most unhappy and most misguided of human beings. ‘ Les plus malheureux & les plus ‘ aveugles de tous les hommes †.’ Princes may have virtuous propensities, but they are misled by flatterers and parasites, who oppose the indulgence of them. It never can be the true interest of one man, or any particular body of men, to resist a system of reason and equity, which naturally implies the interest of all. The man who would urge the necessity of those scenes of misery that exist amongst us, arising from that monstrous unnatural inequality of condition, springing from bad governments (for to no other resource can it possibly be attributed), is a misanthropist

* Godwin concerning Political Justice.

† Telemaque, livre xiii.

of the most odious cast. When we recollect the horrible story which defiles the historical page, the civil and foreign wars which it relates, the bloody scenes which the jealousy and hatred naturally resulting from the discord of clashing interests in the community, from partial immunities in everlasting warfare with general good, have produced, can it be said, that it is not high time to close this history of calamity? The question of truth is now at issue. If they will not go over to the standard of political justice, let the advocates of aristocracy temporize, at least, with an enemy, whom it will never be in their power eventually to overcome. The wreck of monopoly and popular superstition cannot be far distant, now that the source of enquiry is opened. The powers of delusion are, however, at this period, triumphant; but if the rulers of nations are wise, they will not thence confide in a rash security: they ought not to build with too much faith on the conduct of many wise and enlightened men belonging to their own order, who look to

truth, with anxious solicitude, but who dare not explore it, and whose timidity and want of firmness serve to increase their imagined safety. Let them also not count too much on their own retainers and numerous dependants. They are men, and cannot be dead to their own interest. Their attachment is to be relied on as long as they conceive it of advantage to themselves. The instant the winds shift, the same interest will enlist them on the enemy's side. It is now a time to carry home conviction to the breast of our opponents, to paint in strong colours the infamy of being regarded by an enlightened posterity as the unrelenting enemies of justice and philanthropy, as strangling truth and the regenerated happiness of mankind, in order to eternize the reign of general corruption and misfortune.

As friends to humanity, let us proceed to vindicate her rights, and to illustrate the barbarous evils by which she has been for ever persecuted.

Of

Of all the calamities that have scourged mankind, war is the most dreadful; yet, as it adds splendour and prerogative to courts, the miseries of mankind have not been considered as a counterbalance against them. The rights of sovereigns vibrate in our ears, but the wrongs of nations pass unnoticed. Hence, Europe is now again in arms; and its inhabitants betrayed, through the falsest medium, to shed their blood in defence of an unnatural cause, which militates against their own best and dearest interests.

It is impossible, we believe, to produce one war in the history of mankind, that did not in some way originate in those three great monopolies, priesthood, monarchy, and aristocracy. It is impossible, in the whole catalogue, to produce a single example where the people have not been the eventual sufferers.

The dearest interests of mankind are sacrificed; all the kindred feelings of nature are tortured in war. The burthens al-

ways press most heavily on those the least able to support them. It therefore seems astonishing, upon first recollection, that mankind should subscribe with so much facility to their own misery ; but the wonder ceases, when we consider the uncommon pains that are taken to keep them in the profoundest ignorance, to play upon their passions, to soothe their vanity, and to dazzle their senses by a magnificent display of those gaudy trappings and pageantries, which always march in the train of military operations.

Whenever the omnipotence of courts is attacked, it is their constant practice to encourage the cheat, and to feed this system of general calamity ; but the day of reckoning *may* come, when the proud statesman shall be taught humanity, and learn to acknowledge and respect the RIGHTS OF MAN.

It has been already observed, that the most successful war ever waged, although it might gratify the envy or rapacity of courts,

courts, never yet failed to aggravate the load of public misery, both on the victor and the vanquished.

Sir John Pringle, in his very accurate account of the diseases of an army engaged in war, shews, that the annual loss of men in the campaigns, during which he was physician to the army, was one out of seventeen, besides those who died in battle or of their wounds ; but the proportion of natural deaths amongst the seamen is far greater ; and when the causes which lead to the termination of wars are considered, the patience of philosophy can no longer brook the barbarous outrage committed on humanity.

‘ These causes are want of provision,
 ‘ want of men, and want of money.
 ‘ When the youth of a country go to war,
 ‘ the fields remain uncultivated, and consequently yield little food. When every
 ‘ private family has lost a son or a brother,
 ‘ levies are no longer to be made without
 ‘ difficulty ;

‘ difficulty ; and when the public trea-
 ‘ sures are given away to men who return
 ‘ nothing to the public in exchange, and,
 ‘ by the loss of their industry and labour,
 ‘ take away a great deal from it, the treasury
 ‘ is exhausted. During the war, previous to
 ‘ the peace of Ryfwick, the price of corn
 ‘ was double, and in Scotland quadruple its
 ‘ ordinary rate ; and in one of the years
 ‘ pending that war, eighty thousand persons
 ‘ died of WANT in the last of those coun-
 ‘ tries *.’ Thus, after the wealth of a na-
 tion has been exhausted, and its natives
 destroyed, peace is only restored when
 war is ^{no} longer practicable or possible, for
 want of those resources.

In the last German war, which begun
 in 1756 and ended in 1762, twenty bat-
 tles were fought, and two hundred thou-
 sand soldiers were slain, when, after all
 that infernal havock, it was *coolly* deter-
 mined *that things should remain pre-*

* Dalrymple's Memoirs.

cisely as they were at the beginning of the war.

In the war with our late colonies, for the just and honourable purpose of coercing America to the obedience of a British Parliament, in which she was not represented, our coffers were emptied of one hundred millions of the public money, and our island depopulated of one hundred and fifty thousand soldiers.

Nevertheless, such dear-bought experience has not cured the evil; the mote is not yet extracted; nations march voluntarily to the butchery, to fight the battles of courts, with as much apparent ardour as if they were really braving death for the preservation of their own liberties, or for relief from those intolerable burthens by which they are oppressed, that by the strangest fatality they are still shedding their blood to increase and perpetuate.

To

To feed this delusion is now more than ever the policy of aristocratic governments. When a great empire, after having groaned for many ages under the vilest slavery, goaded by the stripes, at length was roused to break its chains, and opened a vein of knowledge, renouncing wars, and inviting the world to accept the olive-branch of peace *, exposing the frauds and cruelty by which mankind had been so long abused and massacred ; it then became a main point with those governments to employ all their art and resources to undermine the pacific system, and to support that murderous engine by which they themselves were supported. The splendor of palaces would have been eclipsed, and the forces of corruption endangered, by the suppression or reduction of military establishments. National exchequers were therefore drained, and employed against the national interest, to foment treason and rebellion

* La Constitution Françoise renonce à entreprendre aucune guerre dans la vue de faire des conquêtes.

La Constitution Françoise, Titre vi. art. 1.

amongst

amongst a people that panted for peace, which, alas ! they were not permitted to enjoy, and who were struggling in the general cause of human happiness * ; to bribe citizens to

* It is now the fashion amongst many, who with affected candour, wish to appear in the amiable character of Moderés, to commend the proceedings of the French Constituent Assembly, as a cover to their own inveteracy against the present government ; but when that assembly decreed in the constitutional code a renunciation of offensive war, it may be asked, if any one step was then taken by other powers to pin them down to that pacific disposition, or if the least desire was expressed of co-operating with them in establishment of it ? If, on the contrary, every provocation, insult, and outrage were not offered to make them abandon the principle ? if even then, almost every court in Europe did not, on that account, regard them with jealousy, alarm, and hatred ? if the hireling B—ke, who thence was honoured with the heart-felt acknowledgments of the most amiable sovereign in Christendom, did not pour forth all his gall against them ? if the object of those courts has not been uniform, through all the stages of the revolution, to impede its progress, to create rebellion and massacres in France, and then alledge those horrors as a pretext for all *civilized* governments to unite in one common cause against a race of *lawless usurpers*, whose

to turn traitors to their country, in order to perpetuate their own favourite partial system, by which one class of men, for such a succession of ages, had been enabled to tyrannize with impunity over the other *. Our rulers have at last taken off the mask, and as a guard and security to themselves, emboldened by the present popular infatuation, have involved the country in this fatal conspiracy; but the means adopted

original and unpardonable crime consisted in having afforded an example fatal to the over-stretched prerogative of kings, and whose subsequent misfortune it was to be eternally harrassed by their ingenious and royal contrivances to prevent them from indulging that presumptuous and unwarrantable arrogance which claimed a right to legislate for themselves.

Here we have a brief epitome of the fair dealing, the ingenuous open practice and humanity of courts.

* To this hour, all over the continent of Germany the vassal is constrained to devote five days out of six to the gratuitous labour of his lord. On the sixth, if *agreeable*, he is free to work for himself. In France, before the revolution, the same feudal system obtained. Who then can wonder at this royal confederacy, to check and to punish such an unnatural sacriligious revolt?

for

for safety, sometimes prove those of destruction. Like the cruelly ingenious artist, who labouring with zeal and refinement to glut the barbarous rage of the tyrant Phalaris, was the first who perished in the fiery flanks of the brazen bull he had invented, they also may be caught in their own toils.

‘ Quos necis artifices, arte perire sua.’

Every man who has a soul to feel for the felicity or misery of his fellow creatures, must deplore the indifference with which at all times they have been seduced to butcher each other : that they should be ever imposed on by such nonsensical delusive gibberish, as the dignity of the crown, the glory of our arms, the rights of sovereigns, &c. &c. &c. under such mockery, to fight against their own dearest interests, and to inflict on themselves endless and horrible calamities.



The fraudulent pretexts that betray nations into war are as flimzy and contemptible as the consequences are ever fatal.

Sometimes it originates in the rapacity or ambition of princes, who never think they have people or territory enough to govern ; sometimes in the profligacy of ministers who engage their country in war,, *with a view to divert public clamour from their evil administration.*

Difference in opinion hath also cost many million of lives ; it is held a very justifiable cause of war, to invade a country after its inhabitants have been plagued by famine, scourged by pestilence, or *embroiled by faction amongst themselves.*

‘ If a prince sends forces into a nation, where the natives are poor and ignorant, he may *lawfully* put half of them to death, and *make slaves of the rest*, in order to civilize

vilize and *reduce them from their barbarous way of living*. Poor nations are hungry, and rich nations are proud, and pride and hunger will be ever at variance. For these weighty reasons, the **TRADE** of a **SOLDIER** is considered the most honourable of all others, because a **SOLDIER** is **HIRED** to **KILL** in **COLD BLOOD**, as many of his **FELLOW CREATURES** who never injured him, as he possibly can *.

There is likewise a kind of *beggarly princes*, not able to wage war of themselves, *who hire out their troops to* **RICHER PRINCES** *for so much a day to each man, of which they receive about three-fourths to their own share*, and from this humane traffick, they derive the chief part of their maintenance. Such are those in many northern parts of Europe; amongst whom our trusty and well-beloved cousin,

* Military services are the *duty* of all citizens, but ought to be the *trade* of none.

Machintosh, *Vindiciæ Gallicæ*, p. 240.

the L—dg—ve of H—fle C—f—l holds a very conspicuous rank *.

What stupid barbarous infatuation that can reconcile men to the deadly instruments and dreadful ravages of war ! Cannon, co-horns, musquets, carbines, bayonets, pistols, gunpowder, swords, retreats, attacks, undermines, countermines, bombardments, red-hot balls, sea fights, ships sunk with a thousand men, twenty thousand killed on each side, dying groans, limbs flying in the air, and to fill the climax of R-y-l valour, the mind may conceive a hundred men blown up at once in a siege, and as many in a ship, and the dead bodies dropping from the clouds, to the great diversion of the spectators †.

It would be impossible by the most laboured argument, or impressive eloquence,

* There are also German Electors who might be named, as having no kind of objection to this species of virtuous commerce.

† Gulliver's Travels, Part iv. Chap. v.

to

to express more forcibly, the folly, madness, and havock of wars, than by the above plain unexaggerated description of them. With war, including every variety of crime, and every act of destruction, we become gradually familiar, under specious terms, that are seldom examined, because they are learned at an age when the mind is apt to retain whatever is impressed. Thus for example, *when one man murders another to gratify his lust, or any violent impulse of momentary passion, we shudder; but when one man murders, or by his fiat, causes to be murdered thousands, and ten thousands, cities to be consumed, and provinces destroyed, for the gratification of his vanity, pride, thirst of conquest, or revenge, we approve and admire, we envy and applaud.*

If after having dispassionately perused the preceding extract, the reader shall discover, that when the events it relates, have occurred in history, and of which, even now, sensibility is tortured with daily similar accounts,
that

that he felt no emotion, no pity, no indignation, and that he acquiesced in wars, which reflection assures him, have been commenced only for such causes, and conducted on such principles, let him not condemn those persons, who anxious for the instruction and preservation of their fellow creatures, would tear off the veil of a murderous prejudice, painting in native deformity, those abominations by which they are made wretched, and those arts by which they are destroyed.

At this desperate crisis, whereon revolves the fate of liberty or slavery, for generations to come, when Englishmen are exposed to the general slaughter, under feigned hypocritical pretences, not a shadow of which now exists, pretences that heretofore bore no sway, for when the Emperor Joseph in the year 1786 attempted to open the river Scheldt, our treaty with the Dutch was not then deemed a matter of such vast importance by the British cabinet, neither when of late, the Rights of Nations were *really* and

and most outrageously violated by the projected invasion of France,* were they then considered of sufficient weight to break in on the minister's sober plans of finance, by disturbing the peace of the kingdom; no, nor even now, when the virtuous triple alliance amidst its warlike operations, have agreed by main force, on the partition of Poland; does such an act of tyrannical rapacity, such a daring infraction of *natural rights*, alarm either his justice or humanity. Pass the Rights of Nations; but when the jealousy of c—ts was roused, when the *ideal* rights of sovereigns were attacked, and the haughty crest of tyranny was lowered, long before the execution of the unhappy Louis, then the whole gang was in immediate action; the common interest of them all was endangered; some acting under ambuscade, their subjects not yet ripe, not worked up to the necessary pitch of warlike phrenzy, others, under less

* Alas we ourselves are at this instant embarked in a similar undertaking.

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restraint,

restraint, openly directing their attacks, but all their plans well digested and connected with each other, the blood of citizens was not weighed in the balance. At an awful period then like this, when the ear is almost hourly stunned with the repetition of the bloody battles that have been fought, the towns which have been consumed, the thousands that have been slain, the gentle voice of charity and peace will be faintly heard. Let us however amidst this uproar of confusion, this wide waste of slaughter and desolation, recommend to our truly Christian sovereign, as the fountain of power and of mercy, who with his word might long ere now have constrained the bloodhounds of war to stop their inhuman career and lay the foundation of peace ; let us recommend to his benignant soul, the following extract from a sermon of that gentle pastor and orthodox prelate the late Dr. Taylor.

‘ As contrary as cruelty to mercy, tyranny to charity, is war and bloodshed, to the meekness and beneficence of the Christian religion. In the gospel it is written, Our
swords

swords shall be turned into ploughshares, and our spears into pruning hooks. I know that no tittle of God's spirit can return unperformed and ineffectual, and I am certain that such is the excellence of Christ's doctrines, that if earthly potentates would encourage such doctrines, Christians would never war with each other.'

To engrave still deeper this moral and Christian duty on his royal breast, let us in aid of our argument transcribe the sentiments of a more profane author, but whose philosophy is generally pure, and whose genius and philanthropy were on numberless occasions, eminently and successfully exerted.

' God having endued man with a degree of reason, superior to that of other animals; that reason should be a security against his degrading himself to an imitation of them ; especially as nature has not provided men with arms to murder each other, or with an instinct that relishes the taste of human

blood. Nevertheless, this savage custom has so debased the original character of man, that two or three nations excepted, there are none which antient history does not describe in a state of constant warfare. *

‘ The most determined parasite will not deny that war drags always at its heels, pestilence and famine, particularly if he has ever visited the military hospitals in Germany, or passed through certain villages or towns, where some great military disciplinarian, has had an opportunity of *leaving his mark behind him*. †

‘ Doubtless, it is a godlike system that desolates whole provinces, demolishes their habitations, and on a computation of every hundred thousand, actually destroys forty thousand persons. ‡

‘ Myriads of men arm and attack each other, with more than mortal fury, with-

* Voltaire. Questions sur l'Encyclopédie.

† Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

out having the least degree of interest in the dispute; nay, even without knowledge, or enquiry into the circumstances of it. *

‘ What signify to me the boasted virtues,
 ‘ the piety, temperance, chastity of a
 ‘ prince, while half a pound of lead, fired
 ‘ at the distance of six hundred paces, by his
 ‘ order, shivers me to atoms, and that I die
 ‘ in the bloom of youth, in inexpressible
 ‘ torture, amidst five or six thousand dying
 ‘ victims.—While my eyes opening for the
 ‘ last time, behold my native town in
 ‘ flames, and the last sounds that vibrate
 ‘ on my ear, are the piercing cries of wo-
 ‘ men and children expiring under its ruins;
 ‘ and all this, for the pretended advantage
 ‘ or glory of a man, whom we never knew,
 ‘ and probably never saw in our lives.’ †

Let kings and princes, ministers and courtiers, contractors, commissaries, and

* Ibid.

† Ibid.

the whole tribe of military butchers, chew on this philosophy. Perhaps, they may discover as much virtue in it, as in a regular attendance at church on Sundays, or in ordaining fasts and penances, deprecating vengeance from our *national* sins.

But all the persuasion of morals, philosophy and religion, have no effect, when directed against the flinty hearts of interested, all grasping statesmen, whose places and whose power, they imagine to depend on the calamity.

The people however, tired out and exhausted by an implacable perseverance in error and ambition, eternal victims to the passions, vices, and caprice of others, enjoying scarcely the least respite from the scourge of war, may at length be roused to point their vengeance against those satellites, who have a vile interest in beguiling them blindfold to destruction, through the mazes of fraud and misrepresentation, and whenever the period shall arrive, that *the people at large are convinced* of their dupery, of
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the perfidy, and abuses which have brought on their sufferings, and of the horrible stratagems by which their countrymen have been beguiled and led to death, that period must be fatal to their betrayers.

Experience is an infallible monitor, and hence ministers might draw a most salutary caution.

Here might our governors and their sycophants read an instructive lesson ; not to build with too great security, on the transitory tempest, their *conjurati*on has raised. If their rashness was not too headstrong and incorrigible for restraint, the page of history might also learn them, not to repose too unlimited faith ; not to indulge their hopes beyond all bounds of discretion, in the dreadful anarchy that is now said to prevail, and which all their arts, their resources and treasures are exhausted to nurse and foment in France. It would instruct them that ancient Greece with only a handful of men, defended her territories against three million of invaders. Plutarch would in-

form

form them, that at the very period, when Sylla and Marius were carrying on their proscriptions without mercy, against their countrymen; even, while one half of the Roman people were massacring the other, it was even then, that they triumphed over the whole race of kings. Amidst the rage of civil discord and tumult, that distracted the Republic, from the proscriptions of Sylla, till the battle of Actium, in that interval, Rome conquered Gaul, Spain, Egypt, Syria, all Asia Minor, and Greece. This example was not long since, and is still in a great degree most pointedly applicable to the state of Great Britain, and indeed of the greatest part of Europe, in their relation to France, and if passion did not govern, paramount over principle, in the breast of our masters, leaving justice and humanity intirely out of the question; if the delirium of the moment did not blind them against their eventual interest, it would teach them diffidence and moderation, and enforce the policy and wisdom of not driving events to the last extremity. But alas! they appear insensible to danger.

Having

Having embarked the people, on an ocean, apparently calm and serene, they are not aware of the rocks and shoals by which it is surrounded: the devouring havock of war disturbs not their immediate tranquillity; safe as they imagine themselves within port, they enjoy the storm, nor will they relent, till torrents of blood have again been sluiced; millions of treasure again consumed, till liberty has received her mortal wound, or they themselves lie buried in the gulph. They have atchieved a temporary conquest over the reason of their countrymen. Our misfortunes on the continent are studiously concealed. Fresh victims are almost weekly embarked for the slaughter; error and infatuation are all alive; trusting to the phrenzy, they have set their all upon a cast resolved to stand the hazard of the die.

In holding this language, the probing language of truth, the author will incur the hatred, and possibly the persecution of all tyrants, who, agreeably with their uniform practice, knowing the impossibility to

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refute,

refute, may resolve to punish it. But he is not of that cast to consult the narrow maxims of selfish prudence, when opposed to the dictates of his own conscience. Anxious to enlighten his countrymen, he will never prostitute his pen, to prop the baseness of hard-hearted grandeur, to depreciate the generous cause of liberty ; nor will he ever vouchsafe to court the insidious smiles of fortune, or of power, by a sacrifice of his opinions or his principles.

To flatter the insensibility, to applaud the usurpations of privileged impostors, derogating from the fair and common stock of human nature ; to preach the doctrine of courts, to enter into all their selfish views and distinct advantages ; to flatter their odious vices, and to soothe their pride ; to join in the hue and cry they excite, in order to increase popular delirium, at the expence of common sense and common honesty, and eternally to admire the *heterogeneous beauties*, the *unparagoned excellence* of a system, the constant abuse of which, they find so propitious to their all
grasping

grasping desires, their unfeeling luxuries, and on which abuse, their monopoly depends, is what they require from every person, who shall presume to speak or write on political subjects, under dread, if they deviate from this rule, of the anathemas of government, the torture of law, and the persecution of power.*

He

* The disinterested patriotic society at the Crown and Anchor, self-created as it were, to render the *harmonious discord* still more striking, into a fourth department in thef—te, consisting of placemen and pensioners, parish officers, and police magistrates, and other equally independent friends of the C—t, arrogating to themselves the constitutional jurisdiction of licensing the press, denounce to the S-c-t-ry of S—te, or to *their* Att—n— G-n-r-l, all publications that do not exactly quadrate with those doctrines, which it is their *duty* and *interest* to promulgate; and the mode that they adopt, in order to enforce these *truths*, cannot be applauded with more gratitude than it deserves, and which in justice, it must be acknowledged, hitherto to have received. They publish their own doctrines, as ORTHODOX, as LAW, although asserting the antient and once exploded-maxim in England, of PASSIVE OBEDIENCE and DIVINE RIGHT, and therefore repugnant to the spirit of KING WILLIAM's GLORIOUS and IMMORTAL REVO-

He ventures to brave all these dangers from a rational and profound conviction in the

LUTION, which notwithstanding, they profess to revere, as the basis of their political creed, and they circulate these loyal pamphlets of their applause, with a zeal and expence, (*doubtless at their own charge*) that reflect infinite honour on their liberality; while at the same time their candour is equally admirable, prosecuting every bookseller, printer, or hawker, who is daring, or ignorant enough, to publish doctrines militating against their own. ‘Audi alteram partem,’ was formerly reckoned an essential principle, or rather an integral part of argumentative discussion, indispensibly requisite to the discovery of truth; but this worthy association not finding it convenient to their patriotic views, have laid it aside lest it might enlighten and raise the swinish multitude, above the level of their native ignorance, and thence, they have prohibited all books, whose doctrines do not tally with those protected by themselves, under the most terrible penalties of fine, pillory, and imprisonment. From this just, prudent, and constitutional monopoly, by which, publicans are also instructed in their duty:—what newspapers they must allow their customers to read, what conversation they are permitted to hold, COMMON SENSE, TRUTH, and the RIGHTS of MAN are banished from our houses, and the LORD’s ANOINT-ED substituted in their place.

What a consummate politician is JOHN BULL, happy in his *implicit confidence*, always in the right box.

Well

the truth, justice, and beneficial tendency of his theory, and while he points his just

Well indeed may he rejoice, when now as a recompense for the surrender of COMMON SENSE and the RIGHTS of MAN, he gains in exchange, the immediate and tutelary protection of the LORD'S ANOINTED, G——e III. But to be serious, persecution of opinions is always ineffectual, and sometimes dangerous. Attempts to modify the mind of one person, agreeably with the fancy or caprice of another, must be ever vain and nugatory. Persecute or torture truth as you will, it will in the end prevail. The capital crimes of two British martyrs, Ridley and Latimer, consisted in circulating English Bibles, and when for this *abominable heresy*, these two champions of protestantism were burnt at Oxford, one of them exhorted the other as follows: 'Brother, be of good comfort, ' our persecutors will be disappointed, for our sufferings will lead men to enquire into that, for which we ' suffered, and this fire will light such a candle in England, as I trust in God's Grace, will never be extinguished.'

It is needless to observe, that Popery was very soon afterward destroyed in Britain, that the Bible still continues to be read in English in all our churches, and that the religion of those two inflexible martyrs, is still our national faith.

Persecution is and ever will be the parent and nurse of enthusiasm.

severity

severity against the infamous delusions, the bitter oppressions that are notorious amongst us, his gall overflows against the unconscionable all grasping minions who thrive upon them, who are now every where denouncing Bella, horrida Bella, exulting in the massacre of myriads of Frenchmen, nor even feeling a pang for the loss of their own countrymen, that have already perished, and that may perish, their only object being concealment, hoping thereby to enjoy a future uninterrupted security in their monopoly, from those dire alarms, by which their coward hearts have of late been scared.

He dares at the risk of utter ruin, to withstand the fury of heated prejudice, and irritated passion : to brave the clamour of vulgar abuse, and the far more tremendous perils of legal vengeance. Undismayed by the terror of example, held out by so many of his injured and unfortunate fellow citizens, now languishing in gaol, torn from their families, unprotected, many of them exposed to the hardest penalties of want, deprived of liberty, lost to society, ruined
in

in their trades, for having laboured in their vocation, unconscious of offence, he still asserts the natural independent empire of the human mind, proving that courts and their creatures can be the only gainers by this disastrous war, that it must inflict endless calamity on the people at large, and from a persuasion that his tenets are founded on charity and truth, it can be no ungenerous effort on his part, to strive to enforce them, and infamous would it be to abandon his legitimate inheritance, especially as a Briton, born in a nation for ever boasting its freedom, to combat the infernal maxims that strike at the natural, best, inalienable charter of man.

In the barbarous age of Attila, or when the Danes invaded this island, war was familiar, it was ingrafted on the general system; civilization had made no improvements, and the blessings of peace rarely enjoyed, were very imperfectly understood; but now, under a philosophic and merciful sovereign, whose reign, owing to evil coun-

counsellors, had been already too much stained by the massacres of war, it might have been presumed that the rage of blood had had its fill ; that instead of plunging deeper into those horrors, the remainder of his days would have been devoted to the blessed functions of charity and peace ;—to personal sacrifices, which his overflowing treasures can abundantly afford, to the alleviation of his peoples burthens, and that he would have stood forth a god-like mediator to quell the vengeance of fierce inexorable tyrants, and check them in their wild lawless career of rapine, blood, and devastation.

These are the offices of *true* religion, the heartcheering delights of a patriot prince, whose tender heart bleeds for the loss of every soldier or sailor that perishes in his battles, miserable victim, ignorant of the cause for which he suffers, and it is fair to hope, that at length, indulging his own natural benevolent propensities, he will avail himself of the immense advantages, his
elevated

elevated station and peculiarly fortunate circumstances afford, to annihilate a sanguinary system under the malignant planet of which, since his accession to empire, millions have been already sacrificed in India and America; to exterminate the desolating principles of offensive war, and that he will cordially enlist on the side of humanity, to destroy that stalking horse of slaughter, which now again lays waste the world.

‘ Oh blind to think that cruel war
 ‘ Can please the prince of peace,
 ‘ He who erects his altar in the heart,
 ‘ Abhors the sacrifice of human blood,
 ‘ And all the mad ambition of that zeal
 ‘ Which desolates the world he died to save.’*

Such we repeat are the sentiments philosophy and religion inspire, but unfortunately, in this age, similar doctrines have appeared libellous and seditious in the discriminating judgment of our Att—ny G-n-r-l, and here it is natural to point out

* Mores Percy.

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the description of men, who by that learned oracle, and by Mr. R—ves, are denounced to the public, and prosecuted at law, as libellous, seditious, and desperate incendiaries.

They are branded and presented as such, who dare to advance, that all abuses which have crept into the constitution, ought to be examined into, and immediately reformed, in order to preserve it from sudden ruin, or from natural decay ; they who are anxious to restore to their countrymen a more equal representation, after the example of their illustrious prototypes, the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Pitt, as likely to procure the following essential blessings.

1st. By reducing the number of unrequited pensions, abolishing unnecessary places, *where they who hold them, do nothing for the money they receive*, and by introducing the strictest œconomy into every branch of government, a vast annual sum
would

would be saved, consequently the public burthens lessened.

2d. By a better mode of collecting the taxes, the revenue would be more productive to the state, less oppressive to the poor, and less injurious to the liberties of the nation.

3d. By abolishing tythes, and paying the clergy in some more eligible way, the laborious husbandman would cultivate his land with greater satisfaction and profit, and all cause of litigation between the clergyman and his parishioner, would be removed.

4th. By putting an end to all unjust, extravagant, hypocritical, and ambitious wars, our population and commerce would be exceedingly increased.

5th. By providing more liberally for that respectable body of men, the parochial curates, religion would prosper, and their

condition thus improved, they might be able out of their income to perform many charities, which a penurious pittance from 20 *l.* to 40 *l.* a year, will not admit of.

6th. By revising the poor laws, the support of the indigent and afflicted might be thrown in juster proportion on the rich, where the burthen ought to fall; to the infinite relief of the lower class of tradesmen, poor housekeepers, and meritorious hardworking peasants.

These are a few of the innovations projected by these incendiaries. through the channel of short parliaments, fairly and constitutionally elected by the people at large, as agreeable with their original principles, and subject to the control of their electors.*

These

* From the reign of Edward the First, to the restoration of Charles the Second, (the Parliament of 1640 excepted,) there were never any other than annual Parliaments, and during that long interval, the representatives never assumed to themselves, any other power
then

These are the desperate incendiaries, the levellers and republicans, whom Mr. R—ves denounces as labouring to confound all order, to destroy all property, to establish Agrarian law, while both by their words and their works, they have invariably reprobated such doctrines, their avowed object being to point out the extreme folly and madness of unmerited *confidence*,*
to

then what they derived from their constituents, by whom, they were constantly instructed, and whose opinions they as constantly obeyed.

For the above, we have Lord Coke's authority, who says, 'It was always the law and Custom of Parliament, that when any new decree was moved in the King's behalf for his specific aid, or the like, the Commons might answer, that they tendered the King's estate, and were ready to aid the same; only that they *dare not* agree without conferring with their counties.'

Hence, it is evident, that such conferences are warrantable by the law and custom of Parliament, and that however modern delegates may arrogate the power of judging *solely* in all things, that arrogance is by no means agreeable to the original system of national delegation.

* The sole merit on which Mr. P—tt can possibly rest his claim to that *confidence* he is so forward and vehement

to expose the impudent quackery of those political mountebanks, who dare to impose such a regimen, to restore to every man his birthright, to enforce the blessings and necessity of peace, to render our laws as amiable and beneficial in practice, as they are said to be excellent in theory; to devise some plan, for instruction of the young and ignorant; for relief of the distressed, to establish a comfortable asylum for the lame and the blind, for consolation and support of the aged and infirm, thinking it far better, that an equitable and permanent provision should be made by law, than that the chance of effecting these great beneficent purposes, should depend on the precarious supply of private charity, or public contribution.*

Conscious

herent to enforce, and which unfortunately has always bore too much sway in this country, 'consists in the meanest of all the talents of statesmen,' that of harranguing in public; not on great occasions, as the orators of Greece and Rome did, but on every occasion; *an avocation from business, which he calls doing business.*—Dalrymple's Memoirs.

* Such are the persons pointed out by Mr. R.—ves

Conscious of the injustice, the cruelty of
torturing men for opinions sake, it is the
duty

as seditious levellers, and desperate republicans. He cannot therefore complain, if in return, he is presented with a faithful portrait of himself.

The *immediate* birth and parentage of this patriot citizen are enveloped in mysterious darkness, although he can trace his genealogy from the remotest ages of antiquity, being descended from the most ancient and respectable of all families;—the SANS CULOTTES. It must be confessed indeed, that his late conduct does not demonstrate any very great affection or veneration for his ancestors, but should the family ever rise to that proud equality, to which in a neighbouring nation it aspires, he possesses a happy accommodating venality, that cannot fail to ensure him impunity and pardon from his *relations*.

Mr. R—ves appears to have made his *debut* in the political world, at the time of Admiral Keppel's trial, when he composed an elegant panegyrical poem, in honour of that gallant officer. Poetry delights in fiction, and at that period, our poet indulged his muse in the bitterest invectives against his M-j—ties g-v—m-t, for which heinous transgression he has since made liberal compensation, by a contrary example of well timed and most fervent loyalty.

The noble minded H—kfb-ry is known, whenever it suits his purpose to exert it, to inherit the happiest and most extraordinary genius, in working metamorphoses

duty of all good and enlightened citizens,
to persevere in this rugged part of reform,
 against

phoses on the human mind. He has moreover, a kind of peculiar instinct, a *manual touch*, whereby he instantly discovers those pliant supple dispositions, that any ways sympathize with his own. By this sympathy, however far asunder their original distance, these congenial souls were drawn together. The times were deemed critical, and critical services were required. A very few minutes conversation was all sufficient to explain mutual intentions, and the usual forms of delicacy and etiquette complied with, under the all puissant recommendation of his noble patron, our *poetico-political* SANS CULOTTES, (for such then, he almost literally was) was introduced to the m—t—r as a *perfect master of all work; ready for any service*; only subject to one restriction. He never served *gratis*. The journeyman is worthy of his hire. It was neither expected or desired that he should; the patriotism of Mr. R—ves, like that of his master, derives recruited zeal, in proportion with the rewards bestowed on it, and when wages are abundantly paid, servility is more certain. His pulse was accordingly felt, and it beat in perfect unison; so that now, no longer a SANS CULOTTES, he was at once put in possession of an annual income, the fruit of anticipated services, to the amount of 2000l. and amongst other precious sinecures that he holds, he is Chief Justice of Newfoundland, the salary

against a treacherous time-serving coalition
of

lary of which is said to be *only* 1000 l. per annum; altho' there cannot be any duties annexed to this appointment, requiring a local residence, since he himself is so actively and so honourably employed in the *administration of justice at home*.

A gentleman, thus respectable in fortune and connections, independent of the nation, if not of the c—t, was in every point of view a fit arbiter of the property and liberties of Englishmen, peculiarly qualified to defend them against the so-much dreaded violence of levellers and republicans. Our minister therefore of implicit confidence gave him his cue. The bait well gilded was thrown out. John Bull, as usual, bit freely: the Crown and Anchor became the focus of loyalty; within that centre all the *confidence* of the kingdom was collected, and Mr. R—ves's association gave birth to those patriotic prodigies we have witnessed; those Alien Bills, and *treasonable* Bills; to those reasonable and humane prosecutions against drunken journeymen, printers, and bill-stickers, whereby the press, as it has been already shewn, is wisely monopolized by two branches of the legislature, to the exclusion of the other, and the crown acquires an addition of prerogative, that must for ever secure it against all danger of Plebeian invasion. He is the idol of P—tt, the *friend* of H—k—ry: with theirs, his name will be transmitted *pure* to posterity.

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of rival parties ; † to save, if possible, this
adored

Mr. R—ves, to his other tried virtues, adds the most amiable candour and untainted veracity. He declares, ‘ that he is perfectly satisfied with the state of the nation, and that every other person *ought* to be satisfied also ;’ yet, if it be fair to judge from the London Gazette, the Gazette de la Cour, of *sacred authority*, from the tremendous list of bankruptcies there announced, a part of the mercantile world *is not* perfectly satisfied with the actual state of things ; but when a *gentleman*, no less distinguished for the consistency and independence of his principles, than for the pure nature and extent of his services, thus deigns to announce *his* satisfaction, it would be equal heresy and ingratitude in the people, were they heard to murmur or repine. In his accurate and impartial definition of the laws ; for the energy and vigour he has infused into our councils ; correcting popular errors ; crushing the sedition of disaffected reformers ; for his virtuous example in receiving and propagating anonymous calumny as a ground of criminal prosecution ; calling forth all the latent patriotism in the country, still further to extend the increased and increasing influence of the crown, as solemnly recognized by a vote of Parliament, he also extorts our *confidence* and gratitude ; and it must reflect

† It inspires a most exalted idea of parties, when one considers the late tergiversation of the Honourable,
and

adored constitution from a total decay, by
proving

fect immortal glory on the present age :—the bright example will flourish a perennial monument of the sensibility, *consistency*, and wisdom of Englishmen, that in the year 1793 of the Christian æra, J—n R—ves, *Esquire*, wrought a total change in our national character ;—that it was a hireling I-f-m-r who modified, and gave an entire new bias to the political system of the B—t-sh G-v—m—t.

and Right Honourable, the Noble, and most noble Seceders from the Whig Club. For a long time it was a mortal struggle, *un combat à mort*, between them and their more happy rivals, each panting to *cut the others throat*, especially B—ke, who having been once permitted for a short time to sip of the delicious fount, displayed all the symptoms of a Maniac in his rage: both parties glowing with impatient ardour; one to preserve *the good things* already in their possession ;—the other to *turn* those out already in possession, and to get at them themselves: But when the principle itself was threatened; when jealous of the French revolution, they apprehended *these good things* to be endangered; that the expenditure of courts would be reformed, their civil lists reduced, the fountain of corruption in some degree dried up, and thus all their expectations destroyed; then these enraged antagonists, these furious *cut-throats* *kissed* and embraced, uniting in

proving the danger to which its principal element is now more than ever exposed, from the undermining encroachments of the most formidable enemies, concealed under the dark disguise of insidious affected friendship.

It might be dangerous to arraign the genuine spirit, the *immortal* part of the British constitution ; but let us exert ourselves to correct those corroding ulcers that threaten its *immortality*. Let us guard against the treachery of false friendship, and apply a safe and healing cataplasm to the wounds, which old age and corruption have engendered in the body, lest at length they mortify, and reach the heart.

closest bonds of amiable *fraternity*, to protect the common mistress of their fondest affections from the rude unhallowed violation of base democratic ravishers. It has ever been the wretched fate of England to be split and torn to pieces by these parties and cabals :—to be gulled by the affected patriotism, the plausible moderation of one, or insulted and ruined by the open, avowed, practical corruption of the other,. Both running to the same goal,

Taking

Taking for granted the vaunted excellence of our happy form of government, it ought not to blind us against its practical errors ; neither should it throw us off our guard against those desperate monarchical strides, daily encroaching, which, unless successfully resisted, cannot fail to undermine it altogether ; nor ought it to render us unjust towards another nation, emulous of our *original* example, to improve its own ; and as Solomon has told us, ‘ there is nothing new,’ so there is nothing perfect under the sun ; the very nature of man is imperfect, and after so many dear and abortive efforts, to establish that pure and simple reform in their monarchy, which they at first projected, but to which the prejudices, pride, interest, and passions of their privileged orders would never submit, and which all the crowned heads, aristocracies and hierarchies in Europe, were either secretly or openly combined to counteract, surely the French were not blameable, under such circumstances, for aspiring to a degree of perfection in a new government, hitherto

to unattained by any nation either ancient or modern. Their antient system, by its violent excesses, had exhausted patience and worked its own dissolution ; and how far the system that succeeded *was* excellent—how far the practice of it would be easy and beneficial, compatible with the purity of its theory, or incompatible with the depravity of man, nor calculated to correct it, is still a mystery. Alas ! the active malice, the clashing interests, and everlasting jealousy of those interested to oppose it, prevented the world from a fair trial of its efficacy ; and it will ever remain a lamentable reflection for humanity, if the liberties of a regenerated people, who had laid down an illustrious example of peace and brotherhood, but who never were allowed to enforce it, whom the combined and open force of all the tyrants in Europe was unable to conquer, after the torrents of blood that have been fluiced, should fall at length a sacrifice to the blackest, most unexampled treachery, the tyranny,

tyranny, and diabolical corruption of courts.*

It has been often stunted in our ears with an affectation of candour, ‘ Oh, we admit the justice and necessity of the principles on which they started, (although even then we well remember the aristocratic clamour which they excited,) but they have lost all right of them, and have degenerated into the most barbarous state of anarchy, regicide, and bloodshed.’

Alas! was it their fault, if they have perforce abandoned that system they at first

* It will not require an infinity of penetration, to decide, whether B—t—sh gold was employed in this honourable traffic, when it is recollected, that the parole of rallying, used by the chiefs of the Insurgents in Brittany, was ‘ *vivent les Anglais*,’ long live the English; and its magic was so powerful, that even the peasants, who had certainly the greatest interest in the new order of things, deserted in bodies to the rebel standard. It can hardly be imagined that the parole itself had sufficient virtue to operate on a French clown, unless accompanied with a more substantial temptation.

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laid down, not only unsupported by other governments, but either secretly or openly attacked by them all, finding the impossibility of contending against such a host of perfidious and powerful enemies, united to interrupt its progress, and for the sake of weakening it, to split the country into a thousand different factions? Did their unhappy king ever join in cordial sincerity with them? Did his perturbed brain ever enjoy the shortest interval of rest, under the curtailment that his once unbounded prerogative had suffered? Has he not been *proved*, to the conviction of all, but such as are impenetrable to *proof*, to have adopted every stratagem, either he himself or his confidential disappointed advisers could invent, to overturn that constitution he was sworn to defend, but which in his soul he execrated and abhorred? How then could a government prosper? How could it continue its march, while the executive power was hostile to it, eternally frustrating the operations of the legislature?

Did

Did the accursed jealousy, the revengeful turbulent spirit of priesthood, nursed in prejudice, soured by disappointment, ever cease, either directly or indirectly, to conjure up the dæmon of rebellion, and to excite civil war in the nation, panting to wade through seas of blood, if in so doing it foresaw the most distant prospect of regaining those treasures, or of recovering that omnipotence which the church had so long enjoyed, under no more virtuous or equitable claims than those of fraud, monopoly, and usurpation, and which policy, wisdom, justice, and above all, the public good, demanded should be reduced? Oh no! their clergy were strangers to the meek and beneficent spirit of true religion; they were unacquainted with the virtue of sacrifices; and founding their own dominion on the basis of ignorance, tyranny, and superstition, how could they be imagined ever to feel the divine glow which a love of liberty inspired? Obstinate till the last, unrelenting and vindictive, we now behold them sunk in the deepest abyss of wretchedness, lin-

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gering out a loathsome existence in foreign states, on the precarious alms of vain arrogant ostentation, and of cold aristocratic charity, with no other prospect to their parricidal hopes, than what they derive from the threatened desolation and eternal slavery of their native country; and the nobles, cramped in their foul habitual luxury, curtailed of their privileges, their empty titles and distinctions gone, have they not (with few exceptions,) by the most desperate treasons, incessantly laboured, alas ! too successfully ; and are they not now dispersed all over Europe, either in hostile courts, or in hostile armies, or in open rebellion at home, braving the laws, instigating and aiding the vengeance of enraged and merciless tyrants, to render the land that gave them birth, which they hesitated not to renounce, rather than submit to those salutary reforms that reduced them more to a just level with the rest of their fellow citizens, one wide waste of blood and carnage ?

Can

Can therefore the most bigotted prejudice affect to deny ; (in his heart no man can,) that after so many fruitless attempts to establish a limited monarchy, on principles that did not destroy, although they abridged the prerogative of the king, and confined the power of the clergy and nobles within proper rational limits, the people were not *forced* to get rid of this vast colossus of opposition, that had ever shewn itself callous to every requisition and duty of patriotism? They therefore subverted altogether the old government, the modifications of which the privileged orders, as we have before remarked, however well affected they might at first appear to them in their discourse, were by their actions labouring night and day to prevent, and they wisely exerted themselves to erect a new form of government, more perfect, and better adapted to general happiness, on the ancient ruins ?

The people had, they could have no other alternative, unless they would con-

sent to repeat the dose of their former wretched servitude.

It has been often and justly observed, that the alteration which the French have made in their government is the true criterion, the very touchstone of the heart, striking at particular distinctions, at the selfishness and arrogant presumption of men, who for the most part, having only the spurious dignity of birth or title wherewith to conceal the want of every intrinsic merit, incessantly labour, by every artifice and violence, to perpetuate the galling *yoke*, by which the bulk of mankind have been so long enslaved to their purposes. The French Republic is a machine, that in an instant winds up the whole royal and aristocratic corps to a pitch of exquisite painful sensibility ; the most virtuous m——ch in Europe, whom far be it from us to include in the above selfish crew, cannot hear it mentioned without betraying the most visible and affecting emotions ; but we would exhort him in the cheering language of our heavenly poet,

‘ *It is a knavish piece of work, but what
 ‘ of that ; your majesty and we have free
 ‘ souls, it touches us not, let the galled jade
 ‘ wince, our withers are unwrung.*’

Why then should the harmony of his
 r-y-l mind be discomposed ? Why should
 he *wince or whine* at the licentious
 excesses of desperate free booters, of the
 swinish multitude, sans culottes, whom
 the royal confederacy are about to sweep
 from the earth ? Why should he be af-
 flicted, whose conscience is pure ; ‘ *In-
 teger vitæ, scelerisque purus,*’* and whose
 long and otherwise glorious reign, if
 too deeply stained in the purple tide of
 war, it can be imputed only to the malig-
 nant influence of evil counsellors, or to
 the still more irresistible force of *dire
 necessity* ; and whose immense treasures, †
 if

* Horace.

† If it be fair to judge from Mr. Doddington’s
 Diary, and it is impossible to doubt his sources of in-
 formation, no person enjoys the eligible and enviable
 felicity

if they have never yet been applied to the support of charitable institutions, to the relief

felicity of riches to such a superlative degree as our amiable and truly æconomical sovereign.

Mr. Doddington tells us, that in a conversation that passed between him and the late Princess Dowager of Wales, ‘She talked much of his majesty’s (Geo. II.) accumulation of treasure, which she estimated at four millions. I remarked, what was become of it, how employed, where, and what was left; I did not pretend to guess, but that I computed the accumulation to be from 12 to 15 millions; that these things within a moderate degree, perhaps less than a fourth part, could be proved beyond all possibility of denial.’

Doddington’s Diary, p. 167 and 290.

Mr. Doddington relates also a conference between Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Newcastle, in the year 1755, which proves how a *certain* nation has been gulled, and to what extent a *certain* family must have been enriched since its establishment in a *certain* prosperous island.

The Duke mumbled ‘that the Saxon and Bavarian subsidies were offered and pressed, but there was no thing done in them;—that the Hessian was perfected, but the Russian was not concluded. When his Grace dwelt so much on the K—g’s *honour*, Mr. Pitt asked him what, if out of the *fifteen million which his majesty had saved*, he should give his cousin of Hesse 100,000l. and the Czarina 150,000l. to be off from those bad bargains,

lief of public burthens, it must be remembered, the numerous and hopeful family,
for

‘bargains, and not suffer suggestions so dangerous to
‘his own quiet and safety of his family to be thrown
‘out, which would, and must be insisted on in a debate
‘of this nature, where would be the harm of it? The
‘Duke had nothing to say, but desired they might talk
‘it over again with the Chancellor. Mr. Pitt replied,
‘he was at their command; but that nothing could
‘alter his opinion.’—Ibid. p. 173.

It appears evident, from the above faithful extract, that the constitution in its practical operations under the Br—w—ck family, is as propitious to kings as it is to the people, perhaps more so; for the royal purse certainly does not *decrease*, as the public burthens *increase*; since every addition to the revenue naturally adds to the revenue and patronage of the c—wn.

An accurate, but unfortunate author, whose writings have attracted the notice of our delicate, vigilant, and susceptible g—v—m—t, applies the following pertinent and close observations to the preceding extracts:

‘Thirty-seven years have now elapsed (says he)
‘since G——e II. had saved *fifteen millions sterling from*
‘*the civil list*. It has been said, that a sum at five per
‘cent. of compound interest, doubles itself in fourteen
‘years, but the calculation is not quite exact; and
‘where a topic *so delicate* as the civil list is concerned,
‘the

for whom it is his duty hereafter to provide,
 over and above that provision, which his
 faithful and never failing commons, agreea-
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‘ the most scrupulous accuracy should be observed, and
 ‘ therefore it is necessary to premise, that in 14 years,
 ‘ one hundred pounds produce about a fiftieth part less
 ‘ than a second hundred; that is to say, 97 l. 18s. 8d.
 ‘ Now at this rate, these fifteen millions in 37 years,
 ‘ would have multiplied to more than ninety-one mil-
 lion and a half.

‘ It is true indeed, as Mr. Doddington observes,
 ‘ that we are ignorant what became of this money, how
 ‘ or where it was applied; but this we know, no part
 ‘ of it was ever applied to the service or relief of the
 ‘ people of this country, from whom it was derived.
 ‘ *We have since paid several arrears into which the civil*
 ‘ *list* had fallen, and 100,000l. in the superabundant
 ‘ generosity of Parliament, have been added to the royal
 ‘ salary; when at the same time the nation has been
 ‘ borrowing money to pay that sum, *nominally*, at three
 ‘ and a half or four per cent. but *in reality* at six or
 ‘ eight per cent. Hence, properly applied, the fifteen
 ‘ million sterling of G——e II. instead of increasing to
 ‘ ninety-one million and a half, would at seven and a half
 ‘ per cent. have extended to nearly one hundred and
 ‘ thirty million seven hundred and fifty thousand pounds,
 ‘ which would at present buy out more than one half of
 ‘ our

bly with their wonted gratitude, may judge fitting to supply his liberal munificence towards

our national debt, and save the country from an annual burthen of four million and a half.

Vide Political Progress of Brittain.

These are *home truths* to be sure. The secrets of the *charnel house* are here divulged, and hence the people of England may be apt to entertain an exalted idea of the fidelity and œconomy with which their representatives, especially during later reigns, have executed their trust. But to be serious : On reading the above, will the most inveterate slave to the splendor, corruption, or avarice of c—ts affect to deny the justice, the necessity of their reform ? And how must sensibility and honour revolt when the persecution is considered to which individuals are exposed, who venture to enforce that necessity ? What must be the nature of that system which cannot endure the mention of its abuses ? What the real character of a government that casts a man into dungeons, who, animated with the purest patriotism and philanthropy, labours to correct them ?

It is fair to conjecture, that part of the enormous heaps *thus œconomised* has been transmitted to Germany ; yet, even supposing it, some imperfect notion may thence be formed of the immense wealth enjoyed, after his long reign, by the frugal and virtuous prince who continues to yield such satisfaction, comfort, and solid advantages to this *flourishing* kingdom ; and since

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wards that family; from all which impartial considerations he now sits enthroned in the grateful hearts of his loyal, discriminating, beloved, and loving subjects.

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the country is now again engaged in war, it cannot be doubted that a patriot king, so much better able to afford it, will follow the example of one of his illustrious predecessors, Queen Anne, who for four years together gave one hundred thousand pounds from her civil list to support the war against France. Under the present circumstances it would be impious to suspect the liberality and civism of a sovereign who loves his subjects far better than his money, and who will be anxious to surpass that princess in the extent of his donations, as much as he exceeds her in riches and all other resources. From such a sublime example what glorious effects may we anticipate! Then will the minister's assertion, "that gentlemen pledging their lives and fortunes in support of the present war were not terms of course, but such as they would most cheerfully abide by." The generous assertion shall then be verified; he himself will be the first to throw in the profits arising from the Cinque Ports, that comfortable little provision with which he lately rewarded himself; Dundas, Grenville, and all his patriot friends will unite in imitation of his generosity; and the innumerable band of sinecure men, pensioners, and placemen of every description, by the noble sacrifice of

It is the nature of truth to challenge enquiry; and suspicious indeed must be held any

of their incomes to relieve the public of its burthens, will realize the reputation of disinterestedness and patriotism, for which their right honourable master and benefactor, with such admirable gallantry, pledged his veracity.

Foremost, amongst this disinterested crew, the noble Earl of Mansfield will press most anxiously forward, eager to throw in his mite for support of a war, the principles of which he so truly and zealously approves; for it cannot be supposed that his Lordship, who from hereditary and acquired wealth, together with other sinecures, is perhaps the richest individual in his Majesty's dominions, will hold it consistent with the dignity of AN ENGLISH EARL-DOM, however compatible he might have held it with Scottish prudence or a Scottish peerage, *any longer to keep a shop*, to deal, under the firm of Mansfield and Way, in slips of parchment, selling them to the poor in moments of their greatest distress. In general, the profits arising to the principal partner from this business are computed at 3000l. a year, but in times of extraordinary demand, like these, it is impossible to estimate the income.

This is one of the trades which authorised Mr. R—es and a learned Judge to publish the *consoling truism*, that justice in this country is equally within the reach of every description of persons; a *truism*, how-

any moral or political system which shuns that enquiry. In all other sciences its virtue is unanimously admitted. In agriculture, commerce, and navigation, the mind is constantly progressive, looking forward to improvement. The demonstrations of Newton were considered as the most sublime and beneficial discoveries, and the GEORGIUM SIDUS of Herschell immortalizes at once the philosopher and the patron: But in politics, the question where, of all others, human nature has the deepest stake, on which its felicity wholly depends, despotism forbids man to exercise his reason, the divinest faculty of his nature; humanity is not permitted to profit by its exertions; the best gift of heaven must be rendered null to favour the impious

ever, which some men are still incredulous enough to deny; but in the present instance, as in many others, the *truism* is fully illustrated. The justice shop is open, and all may buy it, if they have only ready money to pay for it. Nevertheless, many months have passed since the minister's prediction, but we have not heard of a single instance hitherto in which it has been verified.

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and cruel policy of social institutions. It must be confessed, that hitherto fraud has been the characteristic of almost all governments. It appears as if it were the uniform plan to impose false notions on the understanding of the people, and then to govern them accordingly. For example, in the summer of 1792, when his *Serene Highness* the Duke of Brunswick published his manifesto, in the name of their Imperial and Prussian Majesties, denouncing the projected invasion of France, and the horrible design of carrying fire and sword into that nation, and of slaughtering all citizens who should have virtue to refuse to turn traitors to their country, and to aid and assist their barbarian invaders, such conduct appeared strictly just, honourable, and humane to the pious monarchs of Europe; but when these tyrants were unexpectedly driven out of France, when the invincible energy of men struggling for their rights, engaged in the cause of liberty and truth, compelled them to flight, and when afterwards, flushed with success, they pursued the plan of retaliating justice, and

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in their turn carried their arms into the territories of the enemy, inviting all nations to fraternize *with* them against that royal fraternity which had united *against* them, then the hue and cry was raised; all Europe must take up arms against the French; they were described as anarchists, monsters, devils, labouring to subvert all legal government, to confound all order, levellers of property, and to fill the climax, as enemies of all Kings. Thus, what seemed perfectly honourable on one side was construed into unwarrantable invasion, robbery, and sacrilege on the other. At such a crisis, to stop the circulation of truth, that passions and prejudices might have full scope, it became necessary that an embargo should be immediately laid on the press; that sacred Palladium of freedom was invaded by the most rigorous prosecutions; government stooped so low, was so cowardly in its fears, as to attack even bill-stickers and hawkers, some of whom are still languishing in gaols. Associations were formed by minions of the court, to prevent associations amongst the people. Every unfair
 advantage

advantage was taken of that torrent of prejudice which had been raised ; legions of spies and informers were set loose on society ; magistrates employed these satellites to purchase obnoxious pamphlets, and then brought them forth as witnesses to support prosecutions against the innocent publisher ; * liberty of opinion was violated, and a particular bias attempted to be imposed on private conversation. Such, let it be remembered, (it may one day be brought home to him,) was the infamous practice which prevailed in England under the administration of W——m P-tt, during which period every species of falsehood and treachery was protected and enforced by the authority of political government. The old iniquitous politics of Versailles were to be engrafted on the constitution of Britain. But all prejudices and falsehoods have their

* On Eaton's trial, for publishing Paine's Letter to the Addressers, the evidence on which the prosecution was founded was on the information of a man suborned by the Chief Magistrate of what we are eternally told is the first city in the world, to buy the pamphlet. The informer with visible reluctance gave his evidence ; but he was bound to obey the instructions of his master.

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æra of detection; truth must eventually triumph over every adversary; let its sluices be once thrown wide open, its victory cannot fail to be compleat. Governments that had the happiness of their subjects really in view, that were anxious above all things to inspire them with a love of independence and virtue, would be the most averse from imposing the least restraint to prevent an explicit avowal of their sentiments. Truth is uniform; and of all the different forms of government that exist there must be one best, and that best can only be the one where the advantages and comforts of life are most equally administered; and if an equal share of nature's benefits be desirable and good in itself, it must be so for you, and me, and all mankind. Can it be asserted that the actual system answers this description?

If there be a nation in the universe where its rulers have any other object than to render the people sober, just, and wise;—where it is required that they be *jockies*, *debauchees*, and *gamesters*, rather than men;

men; “ *where the lover of truth and justice would be held in scorn and derision, and exposed to the severest penalties and punishments*; such a nation may be ripe for the chains of despotism;—but if there be not, then, liberty must every where be preferable to slavery, and the government of *impartiality*, better than that of random, tyranny, and caprice.”* In this boasted land of liberty, however, strong symptoms of arbitrary power have lately shewn themselves. To illustrate this position.

If when pressed for an opinion, my lips should cowardly belie my heart, and meanly condescend to praise a system, which on a comprehensive survey of things, conviction tells me was partial and oppressive, although in so doing I should be both a hypocrite and a liar, yet in lieu of being despised for my baseness, such is the happy temper of the present times amongst us, that I should be esteemed an honest and truly loyal subject. But if, on the contrary,

* Godwin on Political Knowledge.

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I had courage to oppose the prejudices and passions of my hearers, and to promulgate my real sentiments, to declare unequivocally in favour of liberty and equality, and to express a very rational and warrantable doubt concerning the utility of Kings ! then, the man who pressed me to confidence, turns an informer against me ; government encourages the information ; a special jury appointed by an officer of the c-wn, the c-wn the plaintiff, is prepared, I am brought to trial, convicted, and my Judges on such honourable and substantial proof of *guilt*, are ready in an instant to condemn me to their Bastille, and to expose me on a pillory, to the wild fury of an infatuated rabble, that probably may be hired for the purpose of accomplishing my destruction ; and all this for what ? for having exercised my own free judgment, and having presumed to answer a premeditated question, in what I conceived the language of truth. Again, when I am told from the most *respectable* authority ; from those who have an interest in saying so, that the British constitution

tion comprises within itself all that is wise, all that is excellent, all that is great and conducive to the public welfare ; that it was matured to this ne plus ultra of perfection by the incomparable skill and ability of our omniscient and infallible ancestors ; that the wisdom of antiquity precludes all possibility of further melioration, as if it were the miserable nature of man to degenerate, and not to improve ; or as if the human mind was to be bound down by the chains of an eternal quietism, without another effort to enlarge the sphere of general happiness ;—when I hear these pompous strains, I am apt to look around for living vouchers to confirm them ; when alas ! on a general survey, the picture is entirely reversed, symptoms of partiality, injustice and oppression are every where visible. Luxury and magnificence in one quarter, the most abject penury, and disease its attendant in another, temptation, irresistible to want, every where ; and finally yielding to the impulse of conviction, if I should exclaim against such barbarous imposture, my truth is

pronounced heresy and libel, and for the heinous guilt of speaking it, probably I shall soon be condemned an inmate of the above mentioned Bastille. There indeed, the evidence rises in still stronger energy; there, all doubts, if such there could be, become confirmations strong; there, on one side, sensibility sheds a benignant unavailing tear, over hundreds of young unhappy females, many, the deserted victims of brutal aristocratic lust, cast for transportation, some for seven years, some for fourteen, and others for their natural life, lost to society, cut off thus early from the enjoyments of the world, blaspheming their God, piercing the very walls with their shrieks, and imprecating curses on their merciless unrelenting persecutors. On another, we behold innumerable ferocious felons, still less savage than their ferocious keepers, rendered cruel from oppression, sacrifices to want, ignorance, and temptation, clashing their chains, and grinding their teeth in anguish, resentment and despair. In one melancholy secluded spot, we behold the solitary dungeons, where

where the patient sacrifice condemned to die, in calm resignation awaits the dire execution of inexorable law. In another quarter, we view numberless insolvent debtors, groaning in hopeless misery, abandoned to the caprice and malice of relentless disappointed creditors.

Now in contemplating the happy effects of such a system, who can deny the justice of punishing those who wantonly dare to recommend its reform, or to enforce the necessity of innovating on a government that generates such blessed and glorious fruits? Here, however, let us pause.—It is not our design (we again repeat, well aware of the danger,) to question the fundamental principles of this constitution; we keep at awful distance and revere its *wise and liberal* maxim, *noli me tangere*; but tremendous as the jurisdiction now exercised over the press may be, (although from some recent instances that have occurred, it appears that the people are awaking from their long slumber, and are at length about to assert their

their senses, as well as their rights,) it shall
 not prevent us from freely pointing out
 those vices, with a view to their correction,
 which can have no relation with a con-
 stitution, founded, as ours is said to be, on
 the immortal principles of liberty ;—vices
 which mutilate and deform it, so that it is
 no more like its original self, (as Hamlet
 says) than I to Hercules. We wish to re-
 pair the mouldering edifice, on which the
 freedom, prosperity, and lives of citizens
 depend. Does it seem consistent with the
 principle of justice, which we are eternally
 told is a grand characteristic of our consti-
 tution, and which should form the basis of
 all social institutions, because one class of
 society revels in luxury and superfluities,
 enjoying all the advantages of knowledge,
 which education can bestow ; that another
 class should be condemned for ever to wal-
 low in the loathsome sties of indigence,
 plunged in the deepest abyss of brutish ig-
 norance, exposed to all those dangerous
 temptations, which a constant spectacle of
 unbounded wealth and splendor necessarily
 holds

holds forth to others reduced to the saddest extremities, some perhaps even wanting bread to support their existence? Ought there to be no medium between such violent extremes, as a preventive against those fatal consequences that must naturally be expected to result from them? Would it not be an outrage on common sense to aver, that the former class should have a right to constitute themselves as umpires, to arrogate a power of deciding in their own cause, on the excellence of a government, which yields to them all these exclusive benefits? Surely it would not be straining our argument too far, to admit, that a thief, when set on his defence for having burglariously entered the well-stored larder of a wealthy citizen, and for having taken from thence a fine fat capon or turkey, might, with more than equal propriety, plead his right, on the principle of hunger, to take what the rich man had *no occasion for*, to satisfy his own craving appetite, *that was famishing for want of it*. But here, folly and insensibility would vociferate,

rate, " Oh, in that case there is an end to all order ; no security for property ; all government is at once destroyed." No. The remedy is simple and obvious. Hesitate not to throw some little indulgence into the scale of poverty and labour. Exalt MAN to the rank, of which nature is susceptible, reform your governments, and without confounding all gradations together, *reduce* them to a more just and equal level. Then, every inducement to such violence is immediately removed.

" Sublatâ causâ, tolletur effectus."

In our reverence for the original fabric of the British constitution, it does not follow that we are bound to indulge a blind rage of superstition, and to idolize those polypuses and rotten excrescencies that have grown upon it. We are not thence tied down to venerate the corruption and profligate establishment of courts, to approve those unjust confederacies with foreign princes that now arm this nation against the rights of nations, or to grant the sanction of praise

to

to the insatiate overbearing prerogative, under the vain qualification of the dignity of c—wns. As lovers of our constitution, we should be more jealous of its excellence, more anxious to preserve it free from blemishes, and fervent as our affection may be for pure representative governments, it is not to be deduced as a corollary, that we are attached to a system of representation, which depends on the nod of a court or its minions, where in the very teeth of an Act of Parliament, 12 William III. C. 2. that decrees, ‘No person who holds an office of place or profit under the king, or receives a pension from the crown, shall be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons,’ in direct violation of that act, the House of Commons consists chiefly in persons of the above description, and where the duration of Parliaments is protracted to the length of several years, although, conformably with the original constitution, annual Parliaments were the people’s right,

The love of our constitution does not command us to respect the prevailing practice in regard to libels, and the criminal mode of prosecuting them by information, bearing not the least analogy with its primæval spirit ; a barbarous practice that grew with the accursed Star Chamber. All the learning *forced* upon us, *de libellis famosis*, was borrowed, or rather translated from that slavish Imperial law, commonly called the Civil, or Justinian Law. In our legal authorities, higher than the time of Elizabeth and Sir Edward Coke, nothing of it is to be found.

The love of our constitution does not call upon us to approve the doctrines of tythes, or to extol the injustice of our game laws, that vile relique of feudal tyranny, springing from the forest laws of William the Norman ; in virtue of which, if a half famished peasant destroys a hare that devours the last solitary cabbage in his half rood of garden, intended as a scanty griping meal for himself and family, he is
subject

subject to a penalty of five pounds, or in default of payment, dragged instantly to gaol, there to linger, till he makes it good; while the privileged Squire, or still more triumphant *my Lord*, may not only kill the hare in this cottager's garden, but may also pursue a fox with horse and with hound to his very threshold; breaking down all those fences the poor man's industry had raised, as a security to his miserable hovel. All this the great may do with impunity, to the utter ruin of the honest labourer, from the sweat of whose brow their luxuries are supported, without exposing themselves to any penalty whatever. Yet these are the blessed *equal* laws which a learned Judge in the *sincerity* of his soul tells his Grand Juries at Westminster, know no distinction, the same to all; to the poorest and proudest. The falsehood is proved by the fact, and accumulates insult on oppression, but public credulity has given birth to the most monstrous impositions. A candid statement of *strong facts* against *groundless assertions*, can never be construed as a defamation of our courts.

Does the constitution ordain that we should prostrate ourselves before the blood-stained altar of Moloch, and implore benedictions on the arm that smites us?—that we should idolize a government, which exposes myriads to the unnecessary and desperate hazard of famine or of slaughter, madly precipitating its subjects into the horrors of an aggressive and exterminating war, rather than wound the delicacy of regal pride by negotiating with the executive council of an independent nation, that had, by the solemn and unanimous voice of its representatives, *impartially* and *incorruptly* elected, abolished royalty, and that still smarting through the injuries which it had inflicted on them, had constituted themselves into a REPUBLIC, formed on the noblest basis of FREEDOM, and EQUALITY of RIGHTS.

Can our constitution require us to violate the eternal laws of nature and of justice, that we should coalesce with a banditti of Vandals to *force* on France a government,

vernment, which, after the fullest deliberation, she had rejected ; or otherwise, as is now the case in Poland, to dismember and divide it amongst themselves, thus dissolving the politicians charm ; and what is inexpressibly more dreadful, aiding and abetting every species of robbery, violence, and tyrannous *usurpation* *.

In

* Ministers will consider, and may possibly treat this publication as a libel, because it serves to render their favourite WAR odious and unpopular. The author avows and glories in the motive, to check the career of injustice, and prevent the effusion of blood. They may torture its advocate, but they can never alter the nature of TRUTH. The war begun in hypocrisy, it seems likely to end in ignominy and disappointment. The pretended object in the beginning, in order to cajole the people into it, was the relief of our allies. It was natural therefore to conclude, that the end accomplished, negociation would follow ; but it became necessary to assume another tone ; we then were told, that it was too late to recede, that we had passed the rubicon, and that the dignity of the crown as well as the honour of the nation compelled us to yield every most effectual support to the exterminating principles of our new allies, and that the war was to be prosecuted with the *utmost vigour* till we had obtained ample satisfaction and indemnity for the enormous expence we had thus
volun-

In tenderness for our beloved constitution, where three *discordant* parts, of which it is composed, form one *harmonious* whole, it is natural to regard with suspicion the establishment of vast standing armies, which the wise policy and patriotism of our ancestors were wont to hold in so much jealousy and terror, as inimical to the spirit of free governments. Their opinion was, 'That slavery followed a standing army, as surely as the shadow follows the body.*' The whigs at the revolution remembered, (and they profited by the remembrance) the attempt of Charles I. and the success of Cromwell to overthrow the constitution by means of an army—the plans of Charles II. his successor, to accomplish the same end with the same engine; and it had not escaped their observation,

voluntarily and gallantly incurred. Alas! the period of indemnity seems far distant, and it is to be feared the sad result will be the entire ruin and slaughter of millions, and an additional load of taxation, wringing the last hard-earned morsel from the jaws of poverty and labour.

* Dalrymple's Memoirs.

that

that almost all the surrounding nations, one after another, had lost their liberties in consequence of the dangerous power that standing armies conferred on princes. So rooted were they in this grand constitutional principle, that in the year 1699 they disbanded all the troops in England, except 7000; nor could all the direct supplications, or indirect manœuvres of King William, notwithstanding his popularity, engage the Parliament of that day to depart from its resolution. In our times, Parliaments through the magic incantations of the crown, in virtue of *implicit confidence*, are far better trained to loyalty and obedience.

In our constitution, we learn to abhor, the vexation and tyranny of excise laws,* where the quiet, property, and liberty of a citizen, are left to the discretion of ruffian invaders, armed with legal authority; while

* The lenity of excise laws may be well imagined, by tracing the derivation of the word excise, to the latin verb, 'excidere,' which literally signifies, 'to cut up by the roots.'

the citizen, whose dwelling at the dead midnight hour has been ransacked, is precluded from all benefit of a trial by jury, that noble institution, so excellent in theory, so abused in practice, and thus cut off from all hope or chance of redress.

The love of our constitution does not authorize the patriot to give his sanction to the subsidizing of foreign troops, to those contracts formed with Serene Princes for the purchase of human flesh ;—to the horrors of a slave trade ; nor are they thence obliged to acknowledge the equity of paying five or six pounds for an habeas corpus, which we are told is the peoples' legitimate birth-right, free of all expence whatever!

It is not congenial with our constitution, that we should declare a blind approbation of laws, bearing no analogy with its spirit ; laws, which from their prolixity and tautology, one hundred folio volumes are far unequal to contain, and which from their intricacy (where the swinish multitude are told

told their peculiar excellence consists) the clearest genius cannot unravel, (although it is a legal and humane maxim, '*Ignorantia Juris neminem excusat*,) and in definition of which laws the learned Doctors themselves generally disagree, so that from this glorious uncertainty, which creates prolific diversion for our courts, an unbounded field is opened for fraud and extortion; and our legal processes, from the enormous expence and delays attending them, unknown to a similar degree in all other countries, frustrate every purpose of equity, totally depriving the poor man of all the means of obtaining it.*

The love of our constitution does not warrant an approbation of those unintelligible statutes, that like the sphynx of anti-

* The constitution expressly says, that justice without delay and free of expence shall be denied to no man. The candid reader must decide how far the practice agrees with the principle.

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quity, speak in parables, and then devour the wretches who are unable to comprehend them; nor of those draconian laws, that inflict death for very trivial offences, which have their origin in the vices of our political institutions;—for letting fish out of a pond, cutting down an apple tree, for *privately* stealing five shillings, &c. &c. The question is not how often, or how seldom these laws are executed; the fact is, they are always ready to be executed, so that we are left to the mercy of the King, for that to which we have an undoubted right, in virtue of our constitution, which declares, ‘that excessive or cruel punishments shall not be inflicted.’

There exists no obligation in our regard for the *constitution*, whereby we are to approve those modern statutes that deprive citizens of their natural and *constitutional* rights, not suffering them to leave the kingdom without the licence in due form of his Majesty and the privy seal; ‘such offence to be

be deemed a misdemeanour, *punishable at discretion.**

In whatever light such statutes are considered, they strike us as a direct attack on the liberty of the subject, establishing a tyrannical extra judicial power in the Privy Council, superior to the laws, unknown to the constitution. They are a violent encroachment on Magna Charta, where it is enacted, 'That it shall be lawful for every one to go out of this kingdom, and safely to return by land and by water, &c.' Thus they at once annul the contract which existed between the Kings of England and the people, and violate the fundamental law of the land.

These comments in this age may be deemed libel ; but if they be so, Magna Charta is a libel, for it is from thence that they are drawn.

* Vide the Attorney General's Bill for preventing Traiterous Correspondence.

We have already fully shewn, that while it is held unlawful and dangerous to attempt the least innovation in favour of the liberty of the people, it is perfectly lawful and right to violate the original principles of the constitution itself, in order to increase the prerogative, and strengthen the powers of the crown. But without daring to impeach the *original* excellence of our heterogeneous constitution, an intention we have uniformly disclaimed, the wisest men have acknowledged its errors.

Lord Buchan tells us, that in a conversation which he held several years ago with the late Lord Chatham, asking what at last would become of poor Old England, so stupidly infatuated to the imperfection of her own government, the latter replied, 'Oh my dear Sir, the gout will dispose of me soon enough to prevent me from feeling the result of this infatuation; but before the end of the present century, either Parliament will reform itself from within, or it will be reformed with a vengeance from without.'

Lord

Lord Buchan then makes this brief comment, 'Pythonic speech, soon to be verified.'

To praise is one thing, to deserve it another. The surest indeed, the only criterion of judgment that can be formed on any system, depends on the comparative benefits or injuries which it yields. The British constitution certainly owes much of its reputation to a comparison with the despotism of other European governments, and thence still further increased by the partial report of foreign writers. But it should operate as a considerable drawback on our national enthusiasm, when the calamities in which this country has been eternally involved, under her so much boasted government, are remembered. When we reflect, that since the revolution of 1688, we have been six times at war with Spain, and six times at war with France; not to mention two rebellions at home, with the black and endless catalogue of murders in America and the East Indies; from which
infernally

infernal causes, originate the distresses and prodigious number of our poor, for whose support, two millions sterling, even in times of peace, appear a very inadequate provision,* the consequent enormous public debt, all contracted since the above period, producing an intolerable weight of taxation, that at once impoverishes, and by means of depression, enslaves the people. † It ought to awaken our country from

* If in times of profound peace, two millions annually did not suffice for the maintenance of our poor, should the present system be allowed to continue, what must the increase very soon be from the swarms of mechanics and manufacturers thrown out of all employment?

† There are selfish, hard-hearted wretches who will tell us, "that the *greatness* of Britain grew with, and still depends on their debt," curse on such greatness, that consists in the deleterious splendor of foreign conquests, achieved by the slaughter and ruin of millions, for no other purpose than to increase the revenue, to swell the power, or gratify the ambition of Kings; while an enormous addition of impost is thereby inflicted, drained from the sweat of hardest labour, and which creates that fund of poverty and wretchedness through the country amongst the lower classes, unfelt only by the vile pandars of a court, or by those blood-suckers who flourish and press on the miseries, which their favourite system produces.

its

its dream, to stagger that superstition with which it has been ever wont to bend before its idol, when on a fair estimate it is evident, that the number of persons massacred in those deadly quarrels, have, on the whole, exceeded twenty millions, which may be rated at two hundred thousand acts of homicide a year; all which victims, contrary to the voice and interests of humanity, have been immolated, to feed the vanity, avarice, ambition, or revenge of courts.

‘ In Europe alone; (leaving the present mad and guilty war wholly out of the question) the number of persons that perished in those battles, amounts at least to three million; thus cut off in the bloom of life, whose descendants in the progress of domestic society, must have swelled into multitudes beyond calculation.’*

All these examples, however, added to the many already described, have been still insufficient to cure the madness of war. The

* Political Progress of Britain.

nation that had laid down in her constitutional code, the principle of peace, anxious to deliver it as a grand example to the present age and as an inestimable legacy to posterity, was not allowed to practice it. Such an innovation would have been dangerous to the splendor and despotism of royal and imperial palaces. The *virtue* of courts depends for support on the *virtue* of vast military establishments.

In the course of this work, whose object is to enforce truth, as the sure antidote against all those evils which embitter human life, to awaken Englishmen from those fatal prejudices which pervert their understanding, making the worst appear the better cause, to animate their sensibility, and to open their conviction, we have stated facts in opposition to assertion, and conscious, however violent the torrent of delusion and prejudice has been, or still may be, that the cause of truth must ultimately prevail, if seconded by zeal and perseverance in its advocates, it would be
cowardice

cowardice to desist. Nevertheless, certain it is, that things at present amongst us flow in a polluted channel, but all error from its nature is perishable.

What must be the degraded, the real character of a Senate, which constitutes one capital branch of a government, where vice is seen to triumph over virtue, where consistency and patriotism are held in scorn and mockery; the basest apostacy protected and advanced to the highest office in the State?—Where the sacred glow of eloquence which truth inspires from the lips of a Lansdowne or a Stanhope, strikes no other sensation than *extreme cold** on the already frozen breast of impenetrable lawyers? where a ————— indifferent to principle, ever at command of that cause, or of that party, where he imagines his interest to consist, confident in his numbers,

* An expression applied by ————— to Lord Stanhope, in one of his speeches towards the conclusion of the Sessions of Parliament, 1793.

ed below in state U who as an assumes

assumes a lofty tone of superiority, and openly as insolently scoffs at and derides all that is great, all that is virtuous, in that assembly? while the vast difference between these men, rests in the most opposite extremes. One derives his whole fortune from the vices and miseries of his fellow creatures; * the fortune of the others is uniformly employed in labours to correct the system which generates those vices, and in most benevolent exertions to remove their misfortunes. — When the fences of reason and truth are thus broken down; what public good can be expected to result from the deliberations of such a senate? What national evils may not be expected, so long as this reign of delusion shall last?

To pursue the argument still further. If enveloped in the full majesty of wig,

* The Chancellor of England has fourteen guineas for every commission of bankruptcy which he signs, and for several months past they have amounted on an average to fifty per week. Is it then to be wondered at, that his disinterested Lordship should be so sincere and zealous in his approbation of the actual system?

and

and studiously dressed out in the imposing paraphernalia of office, wherein all his wisdom and virtue generally consist, when a Judge delivers from the bench, the most glaring falsehood, asserting (as we have already had occasion to observe the fallacy cannot be too often or too indignantly scouted,)

‘ That the laws of England know no distinction; that they are alike favourable to all, the richest and the poorest;’ if I insensible to the virtue of that wig or of those venerable robes, presume to analyze his assertion, and thence convict him of this falsehood; not by the production of fallible evidence, but from positive stated FACTS proving the reverse; that these laws are altogether in favour of the rich, oppressive and grinding to the poor, who from the scandalous expence attending their administration, are necessarily deprived of all benefit from them; that press warrants and the game laws are a violent and barbarous encroachment on the rights of the latter, fatal to their lives and their liberties; that tythes and taxes fall infinitely the hea-

vest on them, who in strict justice, ought
 to be exempt from their operation, since
 they had no share in the causes which in-
 flicted them, derivable solely from the pro-
 fusion, insensibility, and ruthless ambition
 of courts, or from the rapacity of church-
 men. That tests, exclusions and restrictions
 are imposed on the dissenters, who are in
 general the most enlightened and meritori-
 ous members of the community. When
 also it is notorious, that the poor, even
 supposing them to inherit every eminent
 quality, are ineligible to the duties of
 citizenship, that they are precluded from
 the satisfaction of serving their country in
 the senate, or of exercising the right of
 suffrage in favour of the person they would
 prefer for their representative, thus evinc-
 ing no respect for patriotism, genius, or
 talents, but rendering every other con-
 sideration subservient to wealth, on which
 the qualification of citizenship is made to
 depend. What must be the degraded con-
 dition of society amongst a people, where on
 such principles, a Judge shall be extolled
 and

and looked up to as an **ORTHODOX SAINT**, for having propagated a falsehood, while I am proscribed, and condemned to the pillory and a dungeon, or perhaps banished from my country, as a libellist and a rebel, for having asserted the truth?

Can there be imagined, in complete refutation of this **GREAT JUDGE's** assertion, a more decisive testimony of unequal laws, a more violent stretch of tyranny, than to call men together for the purpose of electing a delegate, and at the same time to prohibit them from conferring their suffrages on him who to them appears best qualified for the trust? Such exclusion asserts man to be of less value than his property. 'It tells him, your moral and intellectual qualifications may be transcendentally great, but you have not enough of the means of luxury and vice. To the non-elect, it holds a still more detestable language. It says, you are poor, you are unfortunate; the institutions of society oblige you to be eternal witnesses

of

of the superfluities of others ; because you are sunk thus low, we will trample you still lower ; you shall not even be reckoned in the lists for men, you shall be passed by as those, of whom society makes no account, and whose welfare and moral existence, she disdains to recollect.' *

In such cases, all the sacred maxims of reason and equity are outrageously violated, but it would seem as if they were held as crimes in a government, where their most zealous champions are exposed to the severest punishments.

In thus vindicating their cause, I shall excite the stupid clamours of ignorance, and may possibly draw down on myself, the vindictive rancour and persecution of despotism ; but should that be my fate, I shall submit without a murmur, and with heartfelt satisfaction, if from my exertions or my sufferings, any superior degree of

* Godwin concerning Political Knowledge, vol. ii. p. 682.

happiness may finally result for the rest of my fellow citizens.

The consequences of this temporary infatuation, this monstrous perversion, that have been described, are now writing in the blood of our slaughtered soldiers abroad, and in the intire ruin of numbers of our deluded unhappy countrymen at home.

Affairs every hour assume a more tremendous aspect. Bankruptcies of a most alarming nature, unbounded in their extent, multiply through the nation, and they must continue to multiply, as long as the war shall be continued, till the whole community will be affected by the issue. The present unexampled price of provisions is not only intolerable to the poor, but is sensibly felt by the middle classes, and it will necessarily increase, while the wages of industry and labour must of course be lowered, from the unavoidable stagnation in every species of commerce. Thus, the indigent and laborious are driven to the climax

climax of wretchedness, which may find vent in the most violent acts of rage and desperation. Already by these bankruptcies, (spite of the minister's impudent assertion) the consequence of this war, thousands of artizans, labourers, and manufacturers, are deprived of all employment. We daily hear of the most desperate suicides being committed. Every day produces new instances of the fallacy and mischief of our HEAVENBORN STATESMAN's financial speculations ; but an alien to sensibility, he has not a soul to feel for the confusion, deaths, and ruin, he has created.—For the numbers, whom thro' their infatuation to his plausibility and deceptions, he has reduced from affluence to want ;—for the myriads he has nailed to the very center of despair. The traitor of public confidence, as he ever has been from the beginning, so will he continue to the end, affecting to trace these misfortunes from other causes, still throwing out the bait, to catch fresh gudgeons, his insatiate appetite not yet gorged with the multitude he has devoured.

What

What must be the effrontery, the apathy of that man, while his conscience ought to groan under the weight of reflection and remorse, who, in an hour like this, his country engaged in the most critical, desperate, and eventful war, with a view to extend his impositions still further, to ruin more credulous and ignorant men, to reconcile the nation to his horrors, was insolent and daring enough in open senate, to estimate the revenue for the ensuing years, on an average of the four last years, when it was swelled beyond all probability, by a variety unforeseen events? by the distractions in other parts of Europe, by many years of peace at home, all the enjoyments and blessings of which that might have been secured, he has now madly abandoned, and by the encouragement which he afforded to the fictitious opulence of circulating paper?

In taking such an average, he is guilty of wilful premeditated fraud, adapted merely to the temper of the times, to the ignorance

rance and credulity of **IMPLICIT CONFIDENCE**, the sandy foundation on which his empire rests. How in the name of common sense is it possible to take the average of four prosperous years of peace, as the calculation of his estimate for the current year? With what sincerity or prudence can he rely on such calculation, we leave for the sober judgment of rational and impartial men to decide. During the above period, England was the general magazine of almost every commercial nation, and her manufactures, consequently the revenue in all its branches were increased to a vast amount, particularly by the specious, but eventually ruinous circulation of paper, beyond its capital, bearing a productive stamp, which the present war has entirely destroyed. Thus, one chief favourite source of the revenue is at once cut up, and can it be imagined that we shall have more of the carrying trade, when the flower of our seamen is otherwise employed? Will our manufactures be encouraged with more alacrity and vigour, as money becomes

becomes scarcer? Will the demand for these manufactures be increased, in consequence of an almost general war, which must naturally produce a general inability to pay for them? Or will an intire prohibition of them in France augment the consumption.

In a word, notwithstanding his unfair delusive statement, he is obliged to estimate the war expence for the current year at above six millions, to be raised by a moderate decent loan bearing *only* eight per cent. premium. Let the issue therefore be as favourable to his *just* and *honourable* designs, as the most sanguine or perverted imagination can anticipate, what advantage are the people of England to reap in compensation, for a wanton sacrifice of their countrymen's blood, and for all this consumption of treasure?—It may, agreeably with the *r-y-l* system, conduce to the glory of our arms; but it cannot fail to aggravate the miseries and wants of the nation, and if the present loan bears a premium of 8 per cent. should the war be protracted,

we believe the minister, skilled as he is in prophecy and calculation, would be puzzled to foretel the terms to which he will be reduced in the next.

Perhaps, in the mean time, misfortune may operate a change in the public mind, when the people will discover they have been duped, and will be lost in amazement at their own weakness and facility, in having yielded to the infamous schemes of pretended necessity, disguising the real views of avarice, jealousy, ambition, and revenge.

The dire effects of this war in which the r-y-l fraternity have now precipitated Europe, and the obligations for which we are indebted to them, have been candidly stated. The principle that originally formed this honourable league is obvious, but there has arisen another grand object ultimately to be atchieved.

It

It were folly to suppose that his **IMPERIAL MAJESTY** would regard with indifference the aggrandizement of his neighbours, by their usurpations in Poland, unless he anticipated an ample indemnity for his complaisance, in being permitted hereafter to enjoy a capital share in the rich spoils of conquered France; nor is it to be presumed that the prudent cabinet of England would remain a calm observer of such robbery, if it did not look forward to an increase of revenue and of influence in a similar compensation, probably in being allowed peaceably to enjoy a future possession of the present French colonies in the East and West Indies. But may all such infernal confederacies end as they ought to do, in defeat and disappointment.

The cause of truth to which peace and happiness are attached, must be eventually victorious, and may the **RIGHTS of MEN** fix an invincible standard on the wreck of **VANQUISHED DESPOTISM**. Whenever the science of government shall be extricated

extricated from its present intricate and mysterious forms, truth will shine forth, and the real happiness of man abstracted from all metaphysical perplexity or legal sophistry, be shewn to consist merely in the simple principle of obedience to the pure decrees of reason and justice. Had legislators been half as judicious in propagating virtue, or in removing the temptations to vice, by the formation of more equal systems, as they have been ingenious in discovering the means of depraving mankind, the world at this day, instead of a butchery, might have been a Paradise.

The author animated by the purest intentions, has communicated his thoughts with freedom. He has endeavoured to illustrate and give energy to his arguments, by the strongest examples, by irresistible facts, and as a protection against the base and numerous herd of courtiers and their satellites, that will be ready to pour forth their gall against him, and perhaps to crush him with their power, he shall endeavour
to

to seek a shelter under the authority of an illustrious patriot, the **IMMORTAL LOCKE.**

‘ He who labours to blind the people and to keep them from instruction ; may be justly suspected of sedition and disaffection ; but he who makes it his business to open the understanding of mankind, by laying before them the true principles of government, cuts up all sedition by the roots.’

F I N I S.

POSTSCRIPT.

AN attentive reader will discover some trifling anachronisms in this publication; but they no ways affect its general plan. The beginning, as far as relates to Dumourier, was written some months ago. The remainder was undertaken and finished within the space of the last ten days.

July 31, 1793.



